

A Grammar of Old Tamil

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PATIRRUPPATTU)

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A GRAMMAR OF OLD TAMIL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PATIRRUPPATTU

(PHONOLOGY & VERB MORPHOLOGY)

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This is a revised and extended version of my thesis, *Description of the Language of Patirruppattu* accepted by the Kerala University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It was thought that a Grammar of Old Tamil would be of more use to Tamilologists as well as Dravidologists and therefore I decided to work further and bring out the treatise in the present form.

I am very happy to acknowledge my deep sense of heartfelt thanks and gratitude to the authorities of the South Travancore Hindu college, Nagercoil for having granted me leave to work in the University of Kerala. I must also thank the authorities of the University of Kerala who were good enough to grant me a fellowship to pursue my studies there and also to permit me now to publish the thesis. My thanks are due to my beloved Professor Dr. V. I. Subramoniam for his keen interest in my work, valuable guidance and fruitful suggestions when my thesis was being prepared. He has been a source of inspiration throughout my study.

For the eighty songs which form the Patirruppattu text proper, the index of the Tamil Research Department under the Sangam project by Thiru M. Elayaperumal and Thirumathi S. R. Krishnambal has been the basis for the present index. In the original index, each word is given with its place of occurrence in Roman transliteration with a grammatical label in the traditional model and the meaning for some words are given in Tamil. Every word in that index has been checked by me and items that were missing have been incorporated in our index. Meanings in English and a phonemic transcription for each word is provided now. Grammatical labels based on modern linguistics replace the original labels. Besides these, the patikams (colophons) and the stray stanzas noted by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer have been indexed and are incorporated here. I am grateful to the Tamil Research Department, Kerala University for allowing me to use the original index.

I am also very thankful to my colleagues at Annamalai who have either directly or indirectly made this study possible. My thanks are due to all my students who have contributed to the present study by way of collecting materials and in many other ways. It is always a pleasure to thank my students for their illuminating discussions, fruitful suggestions and their personal involvement in all of my studies. It is needless to say that I am personally benefitted much from them and I thank them all. Particular mention has to be made about Dr. K. Karunakaran, Mr. K. Balasubramanian, Dr. S. Sakthivel and Mr. S. Jayapal who have lent their helping hand in the preparation of the manuscript.

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S. Agesthialingom

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ABBREVIATIONS

aec	Accusative case
Adj	Adjective
Adj. B	Adjective Base
Adv	Adverb
AK	Akana:nu:ru
App. V	Appellative verb
C	Consonant
CB	Case Base
CC	Case Compound
cen/cen/ce:n	Ce:na:varaiyar (a 13th century commentator of TOL)
CIL	Cilappatika:ram
cli	Clitic
Col	Collatika:ram
Gu/Cut	Cu:ttiram
DD	Distant Demonstrative
Dei	Deivaccilaiya:r (a 14th century commentator of TOL)
E/E/Eluttu	Eluttatika:ram
EOT	Early Old Tamil
F	Feminine
HB	Hooker Base
HC	Hooker Compound
Hon	Honorific
Hum	Human
Ilam/Ilam	Ilampu:rapar (a 12th century commentator of TOL)
Imp	Imperative
IN	Aiñkuru:ru
Inf	Infinitive
Int	Intransitive

Ka. va	Kaṭavulvaḷttu
kal	Kalla:ṭaṇa:r (a 15th century commentator of TOL)
KL	Kalittokai
KR	Kuruntokai
LOT	Late Old Tamil
Masc	Masculine
MD	Medial Demonstrative
MM	Maṇime:kalai
MOT	Modern Tamil
MT	Middle Tamil
N	Nasal
Nac	Naccina:rkkinīyar (a 14th century commentator of TOL)
Nan	Nannu:l
NR	Narriṇai
Neg	Negative
Neut	Neuter
Neut. Pl	Neuter Plural
Nu	Number
NH	Non-Human
OT	Old Tamil
P	Predicate/ Patikam/ Plosive
PAR	Paripa:ṭal
PD	Proximate Demonstrative
Pl /pl	Plural
Per	Person
PP	Pattuppa:ṭtu
PR/Puram	Purana:ṇu:ru
PT	Patirruppattu
RP	Relative Participle
RPB	Relative Participle Base
S	Subject
Sg/Sing	Singular
TC	Tolka:ppiyam Collatika:ram
TE	Tolka:ppiyam Eluttatika:ram

TK	Tirukkural
TR	Transitive
TOL	Tolka:ppiyam/Tolka:ppiyar
Tol. P	Tolka:ppiyam Patikam
UC	Uriccol
V	Vowel
VC	Vi:ra co:liyam
Voc	Vocative
VP	Verbal Participle
VR	Variational Reading

TRANSLITERATION

Vowels

அ	a
ஆ	a:
இ	i
ஈ	i:
உ	u
ஊ	u:
எ	e
ஏ	e:
ஐ	ai
ஒ	o
ஓ	o:
ஔ	au

Consonants

க	k
ங்	ŋ
ச	c
ஞ்	ñ
ட்	ṭ
ண்	ṇ
த்	t
ந்	n
ப்	p
ம்	m
ய்	y
ர்	r
ல்	l
வ்	v
ழ்	ḷ
ள்	ḷ
ற்	r
ன்	ṇ

INTRODUCTION

0.0. Tamil has a long and uninterrupted literary and grammatical tradition and this can be traced back to many centuries before Christ and one can find during this long period of its history hundreds of first rate scholars who have produced a vast body of materials both on Tamil language and literature.

It is a well known fact that constant and continuous growth in these fields is a must for the development of any natural language, and fortunately Tamil is found to have been enjoying the rich contributions from a great many literary giants and savants. This is also true in the case of grammatical studies and the earliest extant work in Tamil itself is a grammatical treatise. In this connection it has to be mentioned that *Tolkappiyam* is the earliest available work not only in Tamil but in other Dravidian languages as well.

0.1. *Tolkappiyam* (TOL) being a grammatical treatise presupposes a vast body of literature which however has not come down to us. It is a first rate work as Tamil grammar wherein the author displays his brilliant linguistic acumen which never fails to impress even the 20th century linguists. It is really a wonder to know that the author of this great work was in a position to understand the complexities of the language and come to certain conclusions, some of which are really remarkable.

TOL consists of three parts, viz., *Eluttatikaram* (Chapter on letters), *Collatikaram* (Chapter on words), *Porulatikaram* (Chapter on poetics, rhetorics etc.) of which the first deals with Tamil phonology, sandhi rules etc. *Collatikaram*, the second part deals with not only the structure of Tamil words but also its syntax. It is very gratifying to note that the author of this work deals with syntax in great detail. *Porulatikaram* is on poetics, rhetoric and also on various social aspects of the Tamils of those days.

TOL is considered to have been written before the beginning of the Christian Era (Meenakshisundaram, T.P. 1965 : 51). This has been followed by many outstanding literary works of great merit and one can very legitimately be proud of this long and continuous tradition unsurpassed by any Indian language except Sanskrit. Though it is claimed by many that several post TOL works have been lost, a considerable amount of literary classics has fortunately come down to us.

According to Tamil tradition *Ep̥uttokai* (Eight Anthologies) and *Pattuppaṭṭu* (Ten Idylls) form Sankam literature and they belong to the so called third Sankam (Third Literary Academy). They form the earliest available literature in Tamil and they are taken for the present study.

They are followed by three other outstanding works viz. *Tirukkuraḷ* (TK), *Cilappatika:ram* (CIL) and *Maṇime:kalai* (MM) which are also considered in the present analysis.

It has been mentioned that from the days of TOL (The study of the language of which is beyond the scope of the present book) down to modern times we find uninterrupted written records and they clearly show various vicissitudes of the language. The whole of the period is divided into three, viz. Old Tamil (OT), Middle Tamil (MT) and Modern Tamil (MOT).

0.2. By Old Tamil is meant the language prevalent from early times to 600 A. D. around which the so called Bakthi Literature came into existence. It is now accepted by many that TOL might have been written around 3rd century B.C. Though the text already mentioned contains many interpolations made in the subsequent centuries OT is represented by the Sankam classics (SC), TK, CIL and MM. Even in OT there are two stages, viz. Early old Tamil (EOT) and Late old Tamil (LOT) and the former is represented by the Eight anthologies, viz. (1) *Puṭana:nu:ru* (PR), (2) *Kuṟuntokai* (KR) (3) *Paṭiṟupattu* (PT), (4) *Akana:nu:ru* (AK), (5) *Aiṅkuṟunu:ru* (IN), (6) *Narṟinai* (NR), (7) *Kalittokai* (KL), (8) *Paripa:tal* (PAR) and the Ten Idylls and the latter as mentioned earlier by three major works, TK, CIL and MM. The language of the last three works shows distinct deviations in many respects from that of the EOT texts and this can be clearly felt while going through the following pages.

0.3. Middle Tamil covers about 10 centuries (upto 1600 A. D) during the period of which we find not only the Bakthi Literature like *Te:va:ram* hymns but also many epics like *Ci:vakacinta:maṇi*, *Kampara:ma:yaṇam*, *Periyopura:ṇam*, etc. This period is considered to be very productive and Tamil was at its peak. There is also a vast amount of Tamil inscriptions found in all parts of the Tamil land, which have faithfully recorded the structure of Tamil. The importance of inscriptions for the study of any language structure cannot be minimised and they are also made use of by the present author for the study of Middle Tamil structure, which will form separate volumes.

0.4. By Modern Tamil is meant the language prevalent during the last four hundred years during the period of which Tamil has undergone considerable changes. Certain changes can be considered to have taken place due to the influence of various other languages, especially foreign ones. English plays a very important role in this respect and this can be seen in various departments like lexicon, phonology, syntax, etc.

It has been mentioned that Sankam literature consists of Ettuttokai (Eight Anthologies) and Pattuppattu (Ten Idylls) and that the former in turn consists of eight great works and the latter ten long poems. It is true that there is still controversy not only with regard to the word Sankam itself but with regard to the date and duration of it, and the number of poets associated with it, etc. It is not the intention of the author to go into the details of all these issues though it is taken that OT period ends around 600 A. D.

0.5. *Eṭṭuttokai* (Eight Anthologies)

Ettuttokai forms part of Sankam literature and as the name suggests it consists of eight anthologies as listed below.

0.5.1. *Purana:nu:ru*

This is a collection of 400 *Puram* (non love) poems composed by 150 poets belonging to different places and times. All the poems are in *Akaval* metre and they run from 4 to 40 lines long. As they are composed by various poets they necessarily deal with diverse themes. Many of them eulogize kings of three great Tamil dynasties, Chera Chola and Pandya. Several others are sung in praise of lesser chieftains and vassals of the time. Though the poets are full of praise for the kings, chieftains and vassals they do not fail to point out their short comings. The language of these poems is comparatively very tense and shows certain unique features which we don't find in other texts. The so called *untu* forms are found in PR alone.

0.5.2. *Kuruntokai*

This is also a collection, consisting of 401 love poems sung by 205 poets. The poems are 4 to 8 lines long and all of them are in *Akaval* metre. As they are very short in length the collection is called *Kuruntokai* (*Kurum* 'short, *tokai* 'a collection of anthology'). These poems were collected and compiled by one *Pu:rikko:*, though it is not known who the patron was.

There is a controversy with regard to the number of the poems in the anthology. It is true that as it now stands the collection has 401 poems excluding the invocatory song. It is argued by many that it must have had only 400 songs like other anthologies, viz. *Purananuru*, *Akananuru* etc. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer (who discovered and edited most of the *Sankam* literature) is of the opinion that as the poem numbered 307 runs to 9 lines and thus violates the line norm of eight lines more or less followed for other poems of the anthology, it naturally does not belong to this work originally. In this connection it has also to be mentioned that according to the commentary of *Iraiyanar Akapporul* it has only 400 songs.

0.5.3. *Patirruppattu*

This is a collection of 100 *Puram* poems of *Akaval* metre (see more in 0.10) sung by 100 poets, 10 each and therefore it is called *Patirruppattu* (Ten tens). The first ten is called *mutala:m pattu* (first ten), the second *iranja:m pattu* (second ten) and so on. Each ten has been composed by a single poet on a Chera king. The first and the last ten have not unfortunately come down to us and this forms the main focus of the present study.

0.5.4. *Akana:nu:ru*

This is a collection of 400 *Akam* (love) poems sung by 145 poets and the poems are 13 to 31 lines long and as many of the OT texts these poems are also in *Akaval* metre. The poems are arranged in three sections on the basis of the styles employed. The poems 1 to 120 are grouped in the first section called *Kalirriya:nai nirai*; those from 121-300 under the section *Manimi:ip pava!am* and those from 301-400 under *nittilakko:vai*.

The language of these poems also shows certain deviations from that of the other works in Sankam literature.

0.6. *Pattuppaṭṭu* (Ten Idylls)

This is also a collection of ten poems composed by eight poets two of whom composed two poems each. The word Pattuppattu itself suggests that the collection consists of ten poems and as already said they form part of the Sankam classics. The language of Pattuppattu is not as tense as those of Purananuru or Patirrupattu.

Tirumurukaṛruppaṭai, the first in the collection and *Neṭunaiyaṭai*, the seventh are by *Nakkirar*. *Perumpaṇaṛruppaṭai* and *Paṭṭinappaṭai* (the fourth and the ninth respectively) are by *Kaṭiyaluṛ uruttiraṅkaṇṇaṇaṛ*.

0.6.1. *Tirumurukaṛruppaṭai*

This is the first poem in the collection and it is by *Nakkirar*, one of the very famous poets in Sankam age. According to Tamil tradition he was the leader of the third Tamil Academy and it is under his chairmanship that many of the Sankam poems were read and accepted. This particular poem is 317 lines long and is in *Akaval* metre. There are six sections in the poetry; each one describes Lord Muruga (the hero of the poem) as He is in each of his six famous abodes. The theme of the poem is one of *aṛruppaṭai*; one who attained salvation directs another to Lord Muruga for salvation. This poem is well known for its beautiful description of the six abodes of Lord Muruga.

0.6.2. *Porunaraṛruppaṭai*

This is by *Muṭattaṁakkappaṇiyaṛ* one of the well known woman poets of the earliest period and it runs to 248 lines. It is mostly in *Akaval* metre though *Vaṇci* metre is also seen in the middle of the poem. This is also an *aṛruppaṭai* poem (a gift seeker is directed by another one who was already blessed with lot of gift from a patron). The poetess directs a band of bards to the great *karikaḷ peruvaḷattaṇ* a Chola king who gave gifts to her in abundance. It beautifully and picturesquely describes how affectionately she was treated by the great king.

0.6.3. *Cirupaṇaṛruppaṭai*

This poem by *Nattattanaṛ* is 269 lines long and is in *Aṭṭiriyam* metre. This is also an *aṛruppaṭai* poem in which a *paṇan* (musician) who has received gifts from *Nalliyakkoṭan*, a petty chieftain meets another panan and directs him to the same patron.

In this connection it has to be mentioned that there are several kinds of panas and particular mention has to be made here about *ciru* panas (who play small *yaḷ* 'lute') and *perum* panas (who play big *yaḷ*). As a pana with small *yaḷ* directs another one to the patron it is called *cirupaṇaṛruppaṭai*. *Nalliyakkoṭan* is the one who is eulogised by the poet in terms of this poetic device.

0 6.4. *Perumpa:ṇa:rruppaṭai*

This is by *uruttiraṅkaṇṇaṇu:r* and it runs to 500 lines. It is also in *A:ciriyam* metre. A *pana* who plays a big *ya:l* directs another one to *Toṇḍaima:n* *lāntiraiyaṇ*, a ruler of *ka:ñci*.

0.6.5. *Mullai ppa:ttu*

This poem by *Nappūtāṇār* is 103 lines long and is in *A:ciṛiyam* metre. A love lorn heroine has been waiting for her hero to return from his military camp and the poem is in the form of a lively and interesting conversation between the heroines' matrons. It beautifully describes the pangs of separation and picturesquely portrays the social life of the people of the Sankam age.

0.6.6. *Maturaikka:ñci*

This poem by *Marutaṇaṇṇar* of *Maṇṇkuṭi* is the largest in the collection with 782 lines. It is mostly in *Aṇṇiriyam* metre, *vaṇṇci* being followed in the beginning and a few places in the middle.

The poem deals with the impermanence of human life and worldly matters to impart them to king *Neṭuñ.eliyan* of the *Paṇḍiya* dynasty who was the victor of the battle of *Talaiya:lañka:gam*. It first describes the virtues of the king's ancestors and the heroic feats and chivalry and then goes on to speak of the impermanence of worldly things with a view to helping the king obtain salvation.

0.6.7. *Netunalvartai*

As said earlier this is also composed by Nakkirar and it is in *Aciriyam* metre. The hero *Neṭuñceliyan* (a Pandya king) is away on a military campaign and his queen is pining away at home waiting for the speedy return of her husband. The maids of the queen try their level best to console and comfort her and as they fail in their effort, they pray to *koṟṟavai*, the Goddess of war for the victory of the king and his return.

0.6.8. *Kuriñcippa:ttu*

This poem by *kapilar*, one of the most prolific poets of the Sankam age, is 261 line long and is in *A:ciriyam* metre. It is said to have been written in order to teach Tamil to Arya king *Pirakatattan*. This poem talks about the story of the union of two lovers who met accidentally. Kapilar is well known for his poetic excellence, especially for his Kurinci poems. In this poem it is described beautifully how the heroine has been waiting for long for her lover to return and marry her.

0.6.9 *Pattinappa:lai*

Urutirankappana:r is the author of this poem and it is mostly in *yañci* metre though *A:ciriyam* is followed in the end. This poem is 301 lines long and deals with the mental

agony of the husband who intends to part from his wife in order to go to a far off place. It gives a very graphic account of the social life of the people and some of the achievements of the Chola king *Karika:lan*.

0.6.10. *Malaiapaṭukata:m*

This work by *Peruṅkaṣikaṇa:r* is 583 lines long and is in *A:ciriyam* metre. The theme of the poem is also *a:rṭuppaṭai*. *Ku:ttan* (dancer) who received presents from *Nannan ce:y nannan*, meets another dancer on his way and directs him to the same patron. This poem is also called *ku:ttara:rṭuppaṭai*.

LATE OLD TAMIL

0.7 *Tirukkural*

Tirukkural by *Tiruvalluvar*, contains 133 chapters. Each chapter consists of 10 couplets. The first part is named *Arattuppa:l*. It consists of 38 chapters and deals with domestic and ascetic life. The second part is named *poruṭpa:l*. It consists of 70 chapters and deals with political organizations and social affairs. The third part is named *ka:mattuppa:l*. It consists of 25 chapters and treats the love affairs of both premarital and marital partners.

The metric form of the verse is *kuṭaḷ*, a type of *veṇpa*: which consists of two lines in which the first line is composed of four *ci:rs* and the second of three *ci:rs*. TK is the only well known master piece in this type of metre.

As to the author, nothing more than his name is known. The age of this monumental work is controversial. Many scholars hold that the work belongs to the post-Sankam age i.e. the 2nd century A.D.

0.8. *Cilappatikā:ram*

Cilappatikāram is one of the two ancient epics in Tamil. The other is *Manimekalai*. The author of the work is *Iḷaṅko:vaṭikaḷ*, the younger brother of *Ce:raṇeṅ Ckuṭṭuvan*, a *Ce:ra* king. The epic consists of three cantos, *Puka:r*, *maturai* and *vañci*.

CIL consists of 5203 lines. The predominant metre is *A:ciriyam*. Different types of *Kalippa*: and *Veṇpa*: are also interspersed. Prose passages running to 56 lines also occur.

It was published by Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyar in the year 1892.

Many scholars assign this work to the 2nd century A.D. But S. Vaiyapuri Pillai assigns it to the 8th century A. D.

The story of CIL is as follows.

In *Puka:r*, the capital of the *Karika:la Chola*, *Kaṇṇaki* and *Ko:valan* of a rich merchant class were married happily. Soon *Ko:valan* deserted his wife in favour of *Ma:tavi*, a courtesan;

all his wealth was wasted upon her. Subsequently he suspected the loyalty of Matavi and came back to his wife repenting. To restore their fortune, the husband and wife went to Madurai. Leaving his wife in the care of *Matari* in the out skirts of Madurai, Kovalan went into the city to sell one of his wife's anklets. He met the goldsmith of the royal household and showed him the anklet to be sold.

The goldsmith, who had stolen the queen's anklet, seized that opportunity. Leaving Kovalan in his house, he went to the palace and informed the king that he had caught the thief who had stolen the queen's anklet. The king, without enquiry ordered the thief to be beheaded and Kovalan was beheaded. Kannaki came to know of it late in the evening. She ran to the palace, accused the king of injustice and proved her husband's innocence by breaking her other anklet. The repented king died broken hearted. The queen also followed him. Kannaki's anger was not appeased. She tore off her left breast, flung it on the city of Madurai and cursed it to be consumed by fire. Then she was worshipped as a Goddess of Chastity. *Ceran Ceṇkuṭṭuvan* built a temple for her.

0.9. *Manimekalai*

The epic Manimekalai, written by the poet *sattanaṇṇar*, is one of the fine great Tamil epics. It comprises thirty monologues and consists of 4857 lines in total. It is the story of Manimekalai daughter of Kovalan, the hero of the epic, Cilappatikaram. Thus it is the continuation of the old story Cilappatikaram. This epic narrating as it does, the life of Manimekalai is entitled Manimekalai.

This epic formally belongs to the category of *iyāipu*, one among the eight categories of *vaṇappu*. This speaks of the logic of Buddhism and various dharmas. However, it stresses the dharma that an individual should have purity of mind and body and should always have boundless love for other beings.

This epic has been an exemplary one with the commentators as *Ilampuraṇar* and others. It describes the names of the deities, manner of worship, culture of the people of the time, the nature of the cities, choultries, endowments and what religions there were and where they were distributed. This episode narrates the life of the kings and saints of that period,

Though Cilappatikaram and Manimekalai are separate epics the latter is the continuation of the former. As the characters of these epics are identical they are called twin epics.

As is referred to in its patikam songs and Cilappatikaram, undoubtedly it is originally a Tamil epic, by a Tamil scholar, Sattanar.

It is also note worthy that the period of the incidents in the epic and the period of the author are one and the same. So one cannot say that this story is adopted from any other language.

0.10. *Patirruppattu*

0.10.1. *Description of the text*

Patirruppattu literally meaning the 'ten tens' is one of the eight anthologies of the Sankam period in Tamil. This collection has now only eight songs. They are on eight Chera kings by eight poets. Except for the remnants of five songs quoted by the commentators of Tolkappiyam, the first ten and the last ten are irretrievably lost to us.

The Chera king eulogized are *Imayavaramban*, *Neṭuñce:rala:tan*, *Palya:ṇatcelkelu kuṭṭuvan*, *Kalañka:ykkanni na:rmuṭicce:ral*, *Ceñkuṭṭuvan* of Cilappatikaram fame, *A:ṭuko:ṭpaṭṭuc ce:rala:tan*, *Celvakkaṭuñko:va:ḷiya:tan*, *Peruñce:ralirumporai*, and *ḷaṇce:ralirumporai*. The authors of these poems are *Kummaṭṭu:rkannanar*, *Pa:laikkautamanar*, *Ka:ppiya:ṭṭukka:ppiyana:r*, *paraṇar*, *Ka:kkaipa:ṭṭiya:r*, *Nacceḷḷaiya:r*, *Kopilar*, *Aricilkiḷa:r* and *Peruñkunṭu:rkilā:r*.

Each song text is followed by a brief statement on the classification of the subject i.e. *turai*, the name of the note of the song (*vaṇṇam*), the name of the particular metre (*tu:kku*) of the song and the name of the song. As a rule all songs are named with a catch phrase found in the text. At the end of the tenth song a *colophon* in verse form is found in which the pedigree and the exploits of the king are mentioned with the name of the poet, who eulogized him. It is followed by an enumeration of the names of the ten songs; the gift made by the king to the poet is mentioned next; finally the duration of the reign of the king is mentioned. These parts are in prose.

0.10.2. *Authorship of the colophon*

Since the brief statements on the classification of the subject etc. are found, according to the editor U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, in all manuscripts with or without annotations, he has guessed that they would have been written by the author of the song text himself or the redactor whose name is not known for this text. Since the colophons are found only in the manuscripts with the commentary, he has also made a guess that they would have been composed either by the annotator or someone else and not by the author of the song text or the redactor (T. V. S. Pandarattar; *Patirruppattu*, kaḷakam 1950). Therefore the colophons cannot be considered contemporaneous with the song text. Confirmative evidence is available in the grammatical structure also.

0.10.3. *Editors*

This book was first published by U. V. Swaminatha Iyer in 1904. His second edition appeared in 1920. In 1941 he brought out his third edition. The fourth and the fifth editions were published by his son in 1945 and 1949 respectively. The sixth edition reprinted by his grandson in 1957, forms the basis of this thesis.

Avvai Duraisamy Pillai has brought out an edition with a complete commentary in 1950, through the Saiva Siddandha Kaḷakam, Tirunelveli. The second and third reprints of this work

have appeared in 1955 and 1958, respectively. A couple of cheap editions are also in the market. They have been overlooked.

0.10.4. *Manuscripts*

For the editions of Swaminatha Iyer, the following six manuscripts have been made use of in the main.

1. The manuscript got from the *Tiruvaṭṭuturai aṭṭiṅgam*.
2. The manuscript from the Manuscript Library Government of Madras.
3. The manuscript from T. Lakshmanakavirayar of Alvar Tirunakari.
4. The manuscript from J. M. Velup Pillai
5. The manuscript from T. J. Kanakasundaram Pillai
6. The manuscript from M. Shanmugam Pillai of Tirumayilai.

Only two of the above noted manuscripts have commentary. The names of those manuscripts are not mentioned by the editor. Such an omission is quite unusual with this doyen of editors in Tamilnadu. It is significant that the editor has not received any manuscript for this editorial work from the Chera country i.e. modern Kerala.

The textual variations noted by the editor have been listed in the index.

0.10.5. *Commentary*

This text has a commentary by an unknown author. He has annotated the difficult words found in the song, and has arranged the verbs, in a sequence in order to make the meaning of the song clear. The commentary is neither thorough nor exhaustive. However, it is helpful for the reader. He has mentioned *cinnuḷ* which is another name of *Ne:mina:tam* written in the 13th century A. D. (Vaiyapuri Pillai, 1956 : 25). Therefore it is certain that he would have lived after the time of *Ne:mina:tam*.

U. V. Swaminatha Iyer has followed up this commentary with short notes for difficult words after each song. Avvai Duraisamy Pillai, as stated above, has annotated it completely.

0.10.6. *Types of metre*

The predominant metre is *A:ciriyam* (A. C. Chettiar, 1943 : 65) and it is found in 68 songs. The less predominant metre is *A:ciriyam* interspersed with *vañci*. They are found in songs, 13, 20, 22, 25, 26, 33, 34, 51, 70, 80 and 90.

0.10.7. *Lines*

The text consisting of 80 songs runs to 1696 lines. The lines of songs vary from 5 to 57. Eight songs have seventeen lines each, seven songs have fourteen lines each and five songs

have twelve lines. Another five have twenty lines each. Songs having twenty seven lines are also five in number. Four songs have thirteen lines. Equal is the number for songs having nineteen lines. Songs having fifteen lines, twenty-one lines, twenty three lines and twenty-five lines are three each in number. Songs having eight lines, eighteen lines, twentytwo lines, twenty eight lines, thirty one lines, thirty six lines, thirty seven lines and thirty eight lines are two each in number. One song has five lines. Songs having nine lines, ten lines, twenty four lines, twenty six lines, forty lines, forty two lines and forty four lines are only one in each class. One song has a maximum of fifty seven lines.

0.10.8 *The age*

The age of the Sankam anthologies is still unsettled. On the basis of the corroboration of the description of the cities by the Great travellers with the details found in the Sankam anthologies, the latter is dated to the second century A. D. (Vaiyapuri Pillai, 1956 : 22). No internal evidence for dating is available except the state of the language of the anthologies.

0.10.9. This is a revised and extended revision of my thesis, 'Description of the Language of *Patirruppattu*' submitted to the Kerala University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It has been thought that a grammar for Old Tamil would be of more use to the Tamilologists as well as to Dravidologists and therefore I have decided to bring out the present work. The work does not include Noun Morphology which is being worked out by me and I hope that I will be able to bring it out very soon.

0.10.10. As the book entitled as '*A Grammar of Old Tamil with special reference to Patirruppattu*' examples for a particular category have been given mainly from *Patirruppattu*. If example is not available for a particular category in PT, attempt has been made to cite examples from all the other OT texts under analysis if they are found in them. However in certain cases examples from all the texts including PT are also given. With regard to TOL the numbers given always refer to the *Tolkappiyam mu:lam* (1967) published by the Saiva Siddhanta Publishing house unless otherwise mentioned. The numbers given with Nac., Dei etc. refer to the particular commentaries of Tol for ready reference.

PHONOLOGY

0.1. Transcriptional Units

In Patiruppattu (PT) there are 31 transcriptional units of which 12 are vowels, 18 are consonants and the rest is a unit called *a:ytam*. Apart from these 31 units several occurrences of extra lengthening of vowels called *alapeṭai* are also found. As this extra lengthening is possible only with long vowels and they are represented by the corresponding short vowels written after the long vowels. Since the diphthongs *ai* and *au* are also long vowels their extra lengthening counterparts are written by the addition of *i* and *u* respectively after vowels.

0.1.1. Phonemes

Among the 31 transcriptional units 29 are treated as phonemes. The velar nasal *ṇ*¹ and *a:ytam* are treated as allophones because these graphemes occur only as variants of the other units which may be phonetically similar to these sounds. *ṇ* is in complementary distribution with *m*, *n* and *ṇ* because *ṇ* occurs before *k* only and none of the above nasals occur before *k*. Even though *ṇ* is in multiple complementation with *m*, *n* and *ṇ* it is treated as the allophone of *m* because *m* becomes *ṇ* in sandhi. *a:ytam* is treated as the allophone of *l* and *v*. So, there are only 29 phonemes set up based on the distribution and sandhi behaviour of the 31 transcriptional units.

0.2. Vowels

Among the 12 vowels 10 are monophthongs viz. 5 short and 5 corresponding long vowels and 2 diphthongs. *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o* are short vowels. *a:*, *i:*, *u:*, *e:* and *o:* are long vowels. *ai* and *au* are diphthongs.

Following the description of Tolkappiyam (TOL) and the reconstructed value of the modern

pronunciation, all the sounds are classified and arranged in charts. All the 12 vowels are classified as front, central and back. *a* and *a:* are central vowels, *i*, *i:*, *e* and *e:* are front vowels. *u*, *u:*, *o* and *o:* are back rounded vowels. *ai* and *au* are front and back diphthongs respectively. *i*, *i:*, *u* and *u:* are high vowels. *e*, *e:*, *o* and *o:* are mid vowels. *a* and *a:* are low vowels. *ai* and *au* are low to high front and low to high back rising diphthongs.

		Front	Central	Back
Monophthongs	High	<i>i i:</i>		<i>u u:</i>
	Mid	<i>e e:</i>		<i>o o:</i>
	Low		<i>a a:</i>	
Diphthongs		<i>ai</i>		<i>au</i>

0.3. Consonants

Among the 18 consonants 6 are stops, 6 are nasals and among the remaining 6 sounds 2 are laterals, one is trill and 3 are approximants. The last one is called *a:ytam* by the traditional grammarians. The 6 stops and the 6 nasals are homorganic sounds. *k* and *ṇ* are velar sounds. *c* and *ṇ* are palatals. *ṭ* and *ṇ* are retroflex sounds. *t* and *n* are dentals. *r* and *ṇ* are apicals. Among the *iṭaiyinam* *l* and *ḷ* are apical and retroflex laterals respectively. *r* is a trill sound. *y*, *v* and *ḷ* are approximants.

	velar	palatal	retroflex	dental	labial	apical
Stop	<i>k</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Nasal	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
Lateral			<i>ḷ</i>			<i>l</i>
approximant		<i>y</i>	<i>ḷ</i>		<i>v</i>	

0.4. *a:ytam*

a:ytam is yet to be described even with the advent of modern linguistic techniques. In this work it is treated as the alternant of both *v* and *l*.

1 Words like *aṇṇaṇam* etc. are found in other old Tamil texts like AK. where *ṇ* has to be treated as a separate phoneme. So, in the Old Tamil phonology *ṇ* is treated as a separate phoneme. With regard to PT it is not set up as a separate phoneme and is treated as allophone of *m*. Yet in the analysis it is written as *ṇ* only for ready reference.

1.0. *a*

In PT *a* is found to occur initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other OT texts.

1.1. In PT *a* occurs initially before

1. all consonants except *ṇ* and *p* though
2. it occurs in these environments also in the other texts under analysis.*

ṇ is found to occur after *a* in AK, PAR, PP, TK and MM and

p in AK, PP, TK and MM.

In TOL *a* is found to occur initially followed by all the consonants.

1.1.1. before all the consonants except *ṇ* and *p*.

<i>akam</i>	inside,	PT 22-15
<i>acai</i>	slender,	16-13
<i>añcalai</i>	will not fear-you [Sg.]	63-3
<i>aṭṭa</i>	who afflicted	11-2
<i>aṇaṅku</i>	distress	62-11
<i>atir</i>	trembling	43-17
<i>antaṇar</i>	Brahmins	24-8
<i>am</i>	beautiful	31-26
<i>ayarum</i>	which will dance	73-7
<i>ara</i>	snake	51-13
<i>alkal</i>	day	55-16
<i>avaṇ</i>	that place	12-14
<i>aḷal</i>	mars	13-25
<i>aḷaku</i>	hen of kite	35-5
<i>aṭṭa</i>	to remove wholly	38-11
<i>aṇpu</i>	affection	22-2

1.1.2. before *ṇ* and *p*

Though *a* is not found to occur before *ṇ* and *p* in PT it is found to occur in these environments in other texts as mentioned earlier.

* It is true that *ṇ* is not considered as a separate phoneme with regard to PT. Yet it is listed throughout as it may help future researchers who may be interested in the distribution of this unit. Taking the overall occurrences of this unit in OT it has to be considered as a separate phoneme.

<i>añkaṭṭi</i>	bazaar	AK 93-10
<i>appi</i>	having daubed	PP 1-36

1.2. In PT *a* occurs medially after

1. the vowel *a*: in *aḷapeṭai*
2. all the consonants except *ṇ* though
3. it occurs in this environment also in AK.
ṇ is found to occur medially after in AK.

1.2.1. after *a*: in *aḷapeṭai*

<i>kaṭṭaṃ</i>	must	PT 16-7
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1.2.2. after all the consonants except *ṇ*

<i>akappaṃ</i>	name of a fort	PT 22-26
<i>accam</i>	terror	22-2
<i>ñarala</i>	to sound	30-6
<i>iṭam</i>	land	12-2
<i>maṇal</i>	sand	30-5
<i>attam</i>	path	41-14
<i>ariṇar</i>	reapers	19-22
<i>amal</i>	dense	32-13
<i>aṃpal</i>	water lily	13-6
<i>aṃyam</i>	gathering	30-19
<i>akkuraṇ</i>	name of a chief	14-7
<i>akalattu</i>	chest	14-11
<i>avaṇ</i>	that-he	20-5
<i>aḷal</i>	mars	13-25
<i>aḷaku</i>	hen of kite	35-5
<i>aṭṭam</i>	virtue	22-4
<i>iṇam</i>	group	12-6

1.2.3. after *ṇ*

<i>yaṃṇaṇam</i>	AK 313-1
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1.3. In PT *a* occurs medially before

1. all the consonants.

1.3.1. *before all the consonants*

<i>aṭakkiya</i>	who controlled	PT 45-16
<i>aṭaṅka</i>	to cease	40-8
<i>kacaṭu</i>	blemish	44-6
<i>paṇṇilam</i>	world	17-9
<i>kaṭa:am</i>	must	16-7
<i>kaṇ</i>	eye	13-4
<i>katavu</i>	door	53-16
<i>kantu</i>	post	77-8
<i>akappa:</i>	name of a fort	22-26
<i>akam</i>	inside	22-15
<i>kayam</i>	tank	42-2
<i>karanta</i>	which hide	14-14
<i>akal</i>	widening	15-8
<i>akavalan</i>	bard of the Pa:ṇa caste	43-28
<i>akali</i>	moat	33-9
<i>kaḷ</i>	fermented liquor	12-18
<i>akarum</i>	who will cause to vanish	22-33
<i>akkuraṇ</i>	name of a chief	14-7

1.4. In PT *a* occurs finally after

1. the vowel *a:* in *aḷapeṭai*
2. all the consonants except *ṇ* and *ṅ*, and this is also the case with other texts.

According to TOL (73) *a* can also occur after *ṇ* and commentators like Iḷam give examples like *uṭṭṇa* and such examples are never attested in OT texts. Even in TOL it is not attested.

1.4.1. *after the vowel a: in aḷapeṭai*

<i>iṭa:a</i>	which will not be measured	PT 24-14
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1.4.2. *all the consonants except ṇ and ṅ*

<i>aka</i>	inside	PT 32-14
<i>mu:ca</i>	to swarm	60-4
<i>aṭṭa</i>	who afflicted	11-2
<i>pa:ṇa</i>	minstrel	67-3
<i>acaitta</i>	which was fastened	58-2
<i>poruna</i>	king	21-29

<i>akappa:</i>	name of a fort	22-26
<i>peruma</i>	chief	13-28
<i>akaliya</i>	having a moat	45-7
<i>atira</i>	to resound	30-32
<i>akala</i>	to spread	19-16
<i>kaṇava</i>	husband	14-15
<i>avil</i>	loosening	18-4
<i>koḷa</i>	to draw	45-19
<i>alaṭa</i>	to ery aloud	20-12
<i>ma:ṇṭaṇa</i>	they who had been glorious	19-17

2.0. *a:*

In PT *a:* occurs initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with the other texts in OT

2.1. In PT *a:* occurs initially before

1. all the consonants except *c*, *ṇ* and *p* though
2. it occurs initially before *c* and *p* in other texts.

c is found to occur initially after in PR, KR, IN, NR, PAR, PP, TK, and CIL and

p in PR and AK.

In TOL it occurs initially followed by all the consonants except *p*, *n*, *l* and *ḷ*.

2.1.1. *before all consonants except c, ṇ and p*

<i>a:kal</i>	the act of coming	PT 16-9
<i>a:ṅkaṇ</i>	that place	23-4
<i>a:ṭa</i>	to dance	23-8
<i>a:ṇṭa</i>	who rules over	14-19
<i>a:tal</i>	the act of becoming	17-3
<i>a:niyam</i>	planet	24-25
<i>a:mpal</i>	water lily	13-6
<i>a:y</i>	beautiful	90-36
<i>a:r</i>	rare	20-20
<i>a:li</i>	hail	50-2
<i>a:vaṇam</i>	bazaar	68-10

<i>a:l</i>	wheel	77-5
<i>a:l</i>	warrior	50-14
<i>a:ra</i>	having the path	23-13
<i>a:n</i>	cow	77-12

2.1.2. before *c* and *p*

<i>a:ca:n</i>	priest	CIL 2-28
<i>a:pa</i>	will become-they	PR 218-6

2.2. In PT *a:* occurs medially after

1. all the consonants except *n̄* and this is also the case with other texts.

In this connection it has to be mentioned that *a:* is not found to occur in this environment in the whole of OT texts, though TOL has not mentioned anything about it.

2.2.1. after all the consonants except *n̄*

<i>a:ānka:r</i>	those who will not be submissive	PT 39-7
<i>ca:pam</i>	bow	90-32
<i>na:lal</i>	a kind of tree	51-5
<i>a:a</i>	which was not cooked	20-20
<i>uṇṇa:tu</i>	without eating	68-6
<i>ta:r</i>	garland	15-22
<i>na:tpu</i>	battlefield	45-5
<i>pa:kar</i>	mahouts	40-28
<i>ma:npu</i>	loftiness	74-25
<i>acaiya:tu</i>	without weariness	69-11
<i>etira:r</i>	will not do-they	72-3
<i>cella:y</i>	will go-you (Sg.)	40-21
<i>ta:va:tu</i>	without failing	41-17
<i>cu:lā:tu</i>	without consulting	72-2
<i>kola:l</i>	the act of remaining	16-19
<i>uṇṇa:tu</i>	without ceasing	59-16
<i>a:na:n</i>	became-he	47-1

2.3. In PT *a:* occurs medially before

1. the vowel *a* in *alapetai* and
2. all the consonants.

2.3.1. before *a* in *alapetai*

<i>a:a</i>	which was not cooked	PT 20-20
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2.3.2. before all the consonants

<i>ka:kkum</i>	who will protect	PT 45-10
<i>pa:nku</i>	beauty	76-12
<i>pa:cam</i>	demon	71-23
<i>ka:n̄ci</i>	instability	65-4
<i>ka:īa</i>	having the forest	30-10
<i>ka:n̄</i>	seeing	40-29
<i>acaiya:tu</i>	without weariness	69-11
<i>ka:ntal</i>	malabar glory lily	81-22
<i>ka:ppa</i>	to protect	72-5
<i>ka:mam</i>	desire	22-1
<i>ka:y</i>	unripe fruit	13-14
<i>añca:r</i>	will not fear-they	72-1
<i>ka:l</i>	leg	19-1
<i>ka:val</i>	protection	31-19
<i>ka:l</i>	iron rod	77-8
<i>ta:l</i>	foot	29-4
<i>na:ru</i>	shining	52-13
<i>ka:n̄</i>	forest	25-8

2.4. In PT *a:* occurs finally after

1. all the consonants except *n̄* and *n̄* and this is also the case with other texts.

According to TOL (73) *a:* can occur after *n̄* and commentators give example like *uriṇa:*. But it has to be mentioned that this kind of examples are not attested in OT.

2.4.1. after all the consonants except *n̄* and *n̄*

<i>a:ka:</i>	will not become-they	PT 53-21
<i>añca:</i>	who will not fear	21-27
<i>a:īa:</i>	will not plough-they	25-1
<i>uṇṇa:</i>	which will not eat	31-6
<i>ta:</i>	destruction	38-14
<i>na:</i>	tongue	58-9

<i>akappa:</i>	name of a fort	22-26
<i>ma:</i>	large	20-13
<i>acaiya:</i>	who will not diminish	82-15
<i>va:ra:</i>	who will not come	61-10
<i>nila:</i>	brightness	31-11
<i>kaṭava:</i>	which will not be heard	70-6
<i>eḷa:</i>	who will not start	90-27
<i>ke:ḷa:</i>	who will not accept	70-13
<i>e:ṛa:</i>	which will not be climbed	43-33
<i>enna:</i>	who will not say	45-13

3.0. *i*

In PT *i* occurs initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other OT texts.

3.1. In PT *i* occurs initially before

1. all the consonants except *ñ*, *n* and *p* though
2. it is found to occur in all these environments in the other texts

ñ is found to occur after *i* in KR, and AK
n in IN, TK and MM and
p in AK and NR.

In TOL *i* occurs initially before all the consonants except *p*, *n* and *ñ*.

3.1.1. before all the consonants except *ñ*, *n* and *p*.

<i>ikal</i>	hostility	PT 14-13
<i>ical</i>	fame	11-5
<i>iñci</i>	rampart	62-10
<i>iṭam</i>	country	12-2
<i>iṇar</i>	bunch of flowers	51-5
<i>itaḷ</i>	petals	48-11
<i>imiḷ</i>	sounding	13-7
<i>iyal</i>	nature	18-10
<i>irakku</i>	will beg, I	61-11
<i>il</i>	without	12-23
<i>ivan</i>	this place	54-10

<i>iḷi</i>	descending	25-11
<i>iḷam</i>	young	54-4
<i>iṛantana</i>	went beyond-they	73-13
<i>iṇru</i>	this-day	19-24

3.1.2. before *ñ*, *n* and *p*

<i>iñku</i>	here	KR 176-5
<i>intiraṇ</i>	head of the heavenly saints	TK 25
<i>ipoi</i>	oyster	IN 62-1

3.2. In PT *i* occurs medially after

1. the diphthong *ai* in *aḷepetai*.
2. the vowel *i:* in *aḷapaṭai*
3. all the consonants except *ñ* and this is also the case with other texts

3.2.1. after the diphthong *ai*

<i>niraiya</i>	which was in rows	PT 40-10
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3.2.2. after the vowel *i:*

<i>keḷi:ya</i>	which was having	PT 14-11
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3.2.3. after all the consonants except *ñ*

<i>ukir</i>	nail	PT 12-4
<i>aṭicil</i>	cooked rice	45-13
<i>picir</i>	spray	11-1
<i>miñiru</i>	bee	60-4
<i>aṭicil</i>	cooked rice	45-13
<i>eṇṇiṇ</i>	if thought	32-8
<i>katir</i>	ray	59-5
<i>nimtr</i>	increasing	46-2
<i>kapilaṇ</i>	name of a poet	85-13
<i>nimir</i>	increasing	46-2
<i>ñā:yiru</i>	sun	17-10
<i>aritu</i>	rarely	19-12
<i>avil</i>	loosening	18-4
<i>olinta</i>	which was luxurious	31-24
<i>kaḷiru</i>	male elephant	11-6
<i>aṛintanaṭ</i>	knew-you	71-26
<i>eṇiṇ</i>	if so	63-26

3.3. In PT *i* occurs medially before

1. all the consonants.

3.3.1. before all the consonants

<i>paṇikkum</i>	which will tremble	PT 12-8
<i>paṇṇiku</i>	marble	66-18
<i>puricai</i>	fortification	53-9
<i>miṇṇiru</i>	bee	60-4
<i>miṇṇal</i>	strength	13-18
<i>kiṇṇai</i>	a kind of drum	90-44
<i>alittu</i>	having destroyed	45-8
<i>piṇṇita</i>	which departed	79-4
<i>kaṇṇippu</i>	drum stick	17-7
<i>nimir</i>	increasing	46-2
<i>ariyal</i>	fermented liquor	27-5
<i>kaṇṇiviri</i>	the river Cauvery	90-47
<i>elili</i>	cloud	18-10
<i>ariṇu</i>	knowledge	71-25
<i>amiṇṇtu</i>	ambrosia	17-11
<i>miṇṇaku</i>	pepper	41-21
<i>ṇaṇṇiyiru</i>	sun	17-10
<i>piṇṇ</i>	after	18-7

3.4. In PT *i* occurs finally after

1. *i*: in *aṇṇapeṇṇai*.
2. all the consonants except *ṇ*, *ṇ n* and *y* though
3. it occurs after *n* in other texts.

n is found to occur before in KR, AK and PP.

In this connection it has to be mentioned that TOL Cu. 73 says that *i* can occur with *ṇ* finally and examples like *uriṇi* [Nac. E. 73] are given by the commentators.

3.4.1. after *i*: in *aṇṇapeṇṇai*

<i>niriṇi</i>	having established	PT 20-14
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3.4.2. after all the consonants except *ṇ*, *ṇ n* and *y*

<i>aṇṇi</i>	having become	PT 26-6
<i>paci</i>	hunger	64-19
<i>kuṇṇi</i>	family	13-23
<i>kaṇṇi</i>	chaplet	21-24
<i>kurui</i>	blood	11-8
<i>nirappi</i>	having caused to fill	40-11
<i>kuṇṇumi</i>	tuft	36-10
<i>maṇṇi</i>	rain	65-16
<i>elli</i>	night	19-11
<i>keṇṇi</i>	knowledge	64-4
<i>akaṇṇi</i>	moat	33-9
<i>aruṇṇi</i>	having been	
	benevolent	37-3
<i>ari</i>	knowing	67-3
<i>ceṇṇi</i>	head	27-4

3.4.3. after *n*

Though *i* does not occur finally with *n* in PT it occurs in other texts like KR, AK, PP etc.

<i>eṇṇi</i>	name of the chieftan	
	(VR)	KR 80-5
<i>paṇṇi</i>	having ripened	AK 348-6
<i>paṇṇi</i>	having been	
	perfect	PP 10-578

4.0. *i*:

In PT *i*: occurs initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other OT texts.

4.1. In PT *i*: occurs initially before

1. all the consonants except *c*, *ṇ*, *t*, *p*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḷ*, *!* and *r* though
2. it occurs before some of the consonants in other texts.

c is found to occur after *i*: in CIL and MM and

t in AK, PAR, TK, CIL and MM and

n in AK, PAR and CIL and

p in PR and KL and

v in KL and MM and

r in PR, NR, CIL and MM.

In TOL it occurs initially followed by all the consonants except *c*, *ñ*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *v*, *y*, *l*, *l* and *r*.

4.1.1. before all the consonants except those listed above.

<i>t:kai</i>	gold	PT 38-7
<i>i:ñku</i>	this place	88-39
<i>i:ñti</i>	having gathered	72-9
<i>i:ttatu</i>	it which was given	61-12
<i>i:m</i>	will give-you	64-10
<i>i:yalan</i>	will not give-he	20-26
<i>i:r</i>	two	74-8
<i>i:ñra</i>	who gave birth	20-27

4.1.2. before *c*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *v*, and *r*

<i>i:can</i>	lord of universe	CIL 10-186
<i>i:ttu</i>	having acquired	AK 5-10
<i>i:nta:n</i>	gave-he	CIL 1-44
<i>i:pa</i>	will give-they	PR 136-21
<i>i:ya:l</i>	will give-she	KL 61-10
<i>i:rru</i>	delivery	NR 179-1

Note that *i:* never occurs before *l*, *l* and *l* in OT texts.

4.2. In PT *i:* occurs medially after

1. all the consonants except *ñ*, *ñ*, *t*, *y* and *n* though

2. it is found to occur medially after some of the environments in other OT texts.

t is found to occur in KR, AK, IN, KL, PP and CIL

y in KR, AK and CIL

n in KR

4.2.1. after all the consonants except *ñ*, *ñ*, *t*, *y* and *n*

<i>kt:l</i>	down	PT 75-4
<i>ci:r</i>	excellence	15-20
<i>un:tiyar</i>	to make others	21-9
	to eat	
<i>ti:tu</i>	fault	17-10
<i>ni:kki</i>	having turned	17-4
<i>pi:r</i>	sponge, gourd	15-10
<i>mi:tu</i>	upon	30-22
<i>tari:i</i>	having brought	37-9
<i>ili:yar</i>	iet [she] not have	20-28
<i>vi:ci</i>	having given the	20-16
	abundance	
<i>eli:i</i>	having raised	29-8
<i>ko:ti:i</i>	having warn	12-1
<i>ur:ti</i>	having done	44-13

4.2.2. after *t*, *y* and *n*.

<i>pa:ti:yar</i>	to touch	KR 10-9
<i>uri:ti:r</i>	will belong-you	AK 200-11
<i>a:n:ti:r</i>	did-you	KR 178-4

4.3. In PT *i:* occurs medially before

1. the vowel *i* in *ałapełai*
2. all the consonants except *ñ*, *n*, *p* and *l* though
2. it is found to occur medially before in all the above environments in other OT texts.

ñ is found to occur in PP

n in KR, AK, IN, NR, KL, PP, CIL and MM

p in PR, KR, AK, IN, NR, KL, PP, CIL and MM

l in AK, NR, PAR, PP, KL and MM

In TOL it occurs medially followed by all the consonants except *ñ*, *n*, *p*, *l* and *l*

4.3.1. before the vowel *i*: in *aḷapeṭai*

<i>taṭṭi</i>	having brought	PT 37-9
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4.3.2. before all the consonants except *ñ*, *ṇ*, *p* and *l*

<i>niḥki</i>	having turned	PT 17-4
<i>niḥka</i>	to be removed	23-6
<i>viḥci</i>	having given in abundance	20-16
<i>niḥṭa</i>	to grow long	28-8
<i>tiḥtu</i>	fault	17-10
<i>niḥnti</i>	having crossed	12-13
<i>tiḥm</i>	sweet	19-23
<i>niḥyṭṭi</i>	you [Pl.]	49-1
<i>ciḥr</i>	excellence	15-20
<i>niḥvaṭtu</i>	without failure	110-27
<i>kiḥl</i>	down	75-4
<i>niḥl</i>	long	36-11
<i>ciḥṭṭam</i>	fury	15-2
<i>miḥṇ</i>	star	31-28

4.3.3. before *ñ*, *ṇ*, *p* and *l*

<i>tiḥñcol</i>	sweet word	MM 4-85
<i>tiḥṇṭi</i>	having touched	IN 14-1
<i>niḥppa</i>	to remove	NR 136-7
<i>niḥl</i>	blue	AK 40-2

4.4. In PT *i* occurs finally after

1. the consonants *t*, *n*, *m* and *y* though
2. it occurs finally after *ṭ* and in some of the other OT texts.

ṭ is found to occur in KL and PAR

ṭ in AK, NR, KL and PAR

4.4.1. after the consonants *t*, *n*, *m* and *y*

<i>tiḥ</i>	fire	PT 21-6
<i>niḥ</i>	you [Sg.]	13-12
<i>miḥ</i>	intensely	11-25
<i>viḥ</i>	flower	50-14

4.4.2. after the consonant *ṭ* and *ṭ*

<i>kaṇṭṭi</i>	you see!	PAR 6-64
<i>ceṇṇi</i>	you-go!	AK 46-16

5.0. *u*

In PT *u* occurs initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other texts in OT.

5.1. In PT *u* occurs initially before

1. all the consonants except *ñ*, *c* and *p* though
2. it occurs initially before *c* and *p* also in other texts.

c is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, NR, KL, PP, CIL and MM.

p in KL, TK and MM.

In TOL it occurs initially before all the consonants except *ñ* and *p*.

5.1.1. before all the consonants except *ñ*, *c*, and *p*.

<i>ukir</i>	nail	PT 12-4
<i>uṇṇarum</i>	will blow vigorously	51-8
<i>uṭampinār</i>	they who have body	42-5
<i>uṇ</i>	taking in	16-18
<i>utava</i>	to give	22-6
<i>unti</i>	naval	31-26
<i>umil</i>	flowing	11-8
<i>uyar</i>	lofty	11-18
<i>uram</i>	strength	28-3
<i>ulakkai</i>	pestle	29-1
<i>uyantu</i>	having been pleased	20-8
<i>uḷanta</i>	which suffered	12-15
<i>uḷlam</i>	mind	36-3
<i>uḷal</i>	resembling	21-37
<i>unṇam</i>	a kind of tree	40-17

5.1.2. before *c* and *p*

<i>ucci</i>	top	PR 17-36
<i>uppu</i>	salt	PP 3-137

5.2. In PT *u* occurs medially after

1. the vowel *u*: in *aḷapeṭai*
2. all the consonants except *ñ*, *ṇ* and *ṇ* though
3. it occurs medially after *ṇ* also in other texts.

ñ is found to occur in PAR and MM

ṇ is found to occur in KR, AK, PAR, CIL and MM.

5.2.1. after the vowel *u*: in *aḷapeṭai*

aṭu:um which will kill PT 75-1

5.2.2. after all the consonants except *ñ*, *ṇ* and *ṇ*

<i>kuṭa</i>	west	PT 51-3
<i>cuṭar</i>	brightness	16-13
<i>iṭuka</i>	let it give	80-10
<i>eṇṇum</i>	which will count	43-5
<i>tuṇi</i>	piece	44-17
<i>nuṇala</i>	to sing	78-6
<i>puṭai</i>	side	62-4
<i>muṇam</i>	place	38-5
<i>iṭyum</i>	who will give	48-6
<i>aruṇ</i>	rare	15-2
<i>aḷum</i>	which will dance	27-8
<i>kaṇavum</i>	which will dream	11-22
<i>toḷuṇ</i>	collection	14-16
<i>ukaḷum</i>	which will loiter	23-21
<i>akaṭṭum</i>	who will cause to vanish	22-33

5.2.3. after *ṇ*

eṇṇum who will say thus KR 146-4

5.3. In PT *u* occurs medially before

1. all the consonants

5.3.1. before all the consonants

<i>aṭuka</i>	let them dance	PT 58-1
<i>maruṇku</i>	relations	15-5
<i>kurucil</i>	chief	24-14
<i>tuṇcuka</i>	let them sleep	81-36
<i>kuṭa</i>	west	51-3
<i>kuṇa</i>	east	22-32
<i>kuruti</i>	blood	11-8
<i>aṭunor</i>	winners	17-6
<i>kuppat</i>	corn heap	62-15
<i>kumari</i>	cape comorin	11-24
<i>kuy</i>	seasoning	21-11
<i>kural</i>	voice	30-42
<i>kulaṭ</i>	bow string	24-12
<i>kuvavu</i>	collection	84-20
<i>kuḷaru</i>	hooting	22-36
<i>kuḷampu</i>	hoof	65-1
<i>kuṭai</i>	piece of meat	12-16
<i>kuṇṇattu</i>	mountain	51-25

5.4. In PT *u* occurs finally after,

1. the vowel *u*: in *aḷapeṭai*
2. all the consonants except *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *y*, *!*.
3. it occurs in some of the above environments also in other texts

ñ is found to occur in AK

n in AK

! in KR, AK, IN, NR and CIL

Tol in Cu. 74. speaks about the occurrence of *u* and *u*: in the final position. According to Iḷam *u* cannot occur finally with *v* and *n*. Nac. also speaks in the same vein. But both of them give examples like *kaṭavu*, *tuṇavu*, *kuvavu* etc. saying that *u* can occur finally with *v* in a few cases. In this connection it has to be mentioned that in all OT texts *u* is found to occur finally with *v*.

aṭivu knowledge PR 20-6

<i>eravu</i>	night	KR 90-2
<i>uḷavu</i>	ploughing	PT 16-12
<i>tunṭiyu</i>	determination	AK 205-5
<i>iravu</i>	midnight	IN 172-4
<i>aravu</i>	snake	NR 129-7
<i>iravu</i>	night	KL 38-14
<i>uḷavu</i>	ploughing	PAR 10-103
<i>vi:vu</i>	ruin	PP 4-465
<i>iḷavu</i>	begging	TK 1064
<i>vi:vu</i>	death	CIL 29-5-4
<i>aṇiyu</i>	knowledge	MM 4-109

In view of the above, Subramaniya Sastri's interpretation [1939:77] that *u* will not end with *n* and *u:* with *v* can be accepted.

5.4.1. after the vowel *u:* in *aḷapeṭai*

<i>taḷu:u</i>	embracing	PT 52-14
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5.4.2. after all consonants except *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *y*, and *l*

<i>ka:ṇku</i>	will see-I	PT 16-9
<i>ma:cu</i>	blemish	20-27
<i>ku:ṭu</i>	expedient	27-5
<i>na:ṇu</i>	modesty	19-14
<i>caṇtu</i>	sandal paste	42-11
<i>karpu</i>	chastity	16-10
<i>urumu</i>	thunder	30-42
<i>eru</i>	manure	13-17
<i>ellu</i>	day	19-11
<i>uḷavu</i>	ploughing	15-12
<i>eḷu</i>	seven	14-11
<i>ca:nṇu</i>	having had	24-9
<i>miṇṇu</i>	lightning	24-1

5.4.3. after *ṇ*, *n* and *l*

<i>uriṇu</i>	rubbing	AK 211-4
<i>veriṇu</i>	back	AK 65-14
<i>uḷḷu</i>	thinking	NR 96-10

6.0. *u:*

In PT *u:* occurs initially medially and finally and this is also case with other OT texts.

6.1. In PT *u:* occurs initially before

1. all the consonants except *ṇ*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *l*, *v* and *!* though
2. it occurs before *m* also in other texts.

m is found to occur in PR, KR, PP, CIL and MM,

In TOL it is found to occur only with *k*, *t*, *n*, *!*, *r* and *!*.

6.1.1. before all the consonants except *ṇ*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *l*, *v* and *!*.

<i>u:kkalai</i>	of the strength-you	PT 11-11
<i>u:ṇku</i>	before	29-15
<i>u:cal</i>	swing	43-2
<i>u:ṭiṇ</i>	if quarrelled	16-11
<i>u:ṇ</i>	food	38-15
<i>u:ṭiya</i>	which blew	67-19
<i>u:r</i>	village	15-18
<i>u:ḷi</i>	kingdom	22-11
<i>u:ru</i>	approach	51-32
<i>u:ṇ</i>	flesh	12-17

6.1.2 before *m*

<i>u:maṇ</i>	dumb man	PR 238-17
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6.2. In PT *u:* occurs medially after

1. all the consonants except *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *l*, *v*, *!*, and *ṇ* though
2. it is found to occur in some of these environments in other texts.

l is found to occur in KR and AK

v in AK

! in KR, AK and NR

ṇ in AK

6.2.1. after all the consonants except *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *l*, *v*, *!* and *ṇ*.

<i>ku:u</i>	the act of howling	PT 22-35
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<i>cu:l</i>	pregnancy	24-28
<i>aʃu:um</i>	which will kill	75-1
<i>ka:pu:u</i>	having seen	30-20
<i>tu:mk</i>	swaying	31-19
<i>nu:ri</i>	having destroyed	66-5
<i>pu:n</i>	jewel	65-6
<i>mu:nru</i>	three	50-7
<i>puʃaiyu:u</i>	having clapped	30-36
<i>oru:upa</i>	will flee-tney	33-12
<i>talw:u</i>	embracing	52-14
<i>uru:m</i>	which will have	17-7

6.2.2. after *l*, *v*, *ʃ* and *n*

<i>na:lu:r</i>	name of a place	KR 15-3
<i>karayu:r</i>	the ancient capital of the Chera country	AK 93-21
<i>muʃʃu:r</i>	the city of mullu:r	NR 170-6
<i>u:nu:r</i>	name of a village	AK 220-13
<i>u:</i> is found to occur after <i>n̄</i> in TOL		
<i>aiññu:ru</i>	five hundred	TOL.P. 406-2

6.3. In PT *u:* occurs medially before

1. the vowel *u* in *aʃapeʃai*
2. all the consonants except *n̄*

6.3.1. before the vowel *u:* in *aʃapeʃai*

<i>ku:u</i>	the act of howling	PT 22-35
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6.3.2. before all the consonants except *n̄*

<i>ku:kai</i>	rock hened owl	PT 44-18
<i>tu:nku</i>	assembling closely	24-13
<i>pu:cal</i>	loud noise	22-29
<i>ku:ʃal</i>	the union of three rivers	50-7
<i>tu:pi</i>	quiver	45-1
<i>pu:ʃta</i>	which had blossomed	13-3
<i>ku:ntal</i>	tresses	18-6
<i>pu:ppa</i>	to blossom	19-21
<i>tu:mpu</i>	bamboo tube	81-21

<i>tu:ya</i>	which have been offered	30-37
<i>ku:r</i>	bending	59-2
<i>ku:lam</i>	corn	13-23
<i>ku:val</i>	pit	51-4
<i>ku:ʃ</i>	wealth	90-45
<i>ku:ʃiyar</i>	warriors	19-1
<i>ku:ri</i>	having said	58-7
<i>mu:nru</i>	three	50-7

6.4. In PT *u:* occurs finally after

1. the consonants *t* and *p*
2. it occurs in some other environments in the other texts

k is found to occur in CIL

m in AK, KL, PAR, PP and CIL

6.4.1. after the consonants *t* and *p*

<i>tu:</i>	pure	PT 27-2
<i>pu:</i>	flower	PT 23-23

6.4.2. after *k*, and *m*

<i>ku:</i>	hauling	CIL 10-235
<i>koṇmu:</i>	cloud	AK 68-15

7.0. *e*

In PT *e* occurs initially and medially only and it is not found to occur finally at all and this is also the case with other texts.

While dealing with the word final TOL [71] has said that *e* will not occur finally.

It is true that *e* is written after *e:* in *aʃapeʃai* and this is only to show the extra lengthening of *e:*. For ready references such occurrences are also listed in the present analysis and this does not mean that they occur finally.

7.1. In PT *e* occurs initially before

1. all the consonants except *k*, *n̄* and *p* though

2. it occurs before *k*, *ñ* and *p* in other texts.

k is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, IN, NR, KL, and PP.

ñ in TK, CIL and MM.

p in MM.

7.1.1. before all the consonants except *k*, *ñ* and *p*

<i>eccam</i>	remainders	PT 74-25
<i>eñca:tu</i>	without ceasing	15-35
<i>eḷukkum</i>	which will take	30-7
<i>eṇ</i>	counting	74-18
<i>etir</i>	opposing	23-17
<i>entira</i>	machine	53-7
<i>em</i>	our	20-1
<i>eyti</i>	having experienced	15-30
<i>eri</i>	fire	48-10
<i>el</i>	shining	27-7
<i>evan</i>	why	50-22
<i>eḷa</i>	to raise	34-10
<i>eḷitu</i>	easily	48-6
<i>eṇi</i>	sounding	11-14
<i>eṇpa</i>	will say-they	58-12

7.1.2. before *k*, *ñ* and *p*.

<i>ekinam</i>	swan	AK 34-12
<i>eñku</i>	in all places	CIL 9-30
<i>eppaḷittu</i>	how	MM 27-88

In TOL also *e* is not found to occur before *p*.

7.2. In PT *e* occurs medially after

1. the vowel *e*: in *aḷapeṭai*
2. all the consonants except *ñ*, *t*, *ṇ*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *ḷ*, *ṛ* though
3. it is found to occur in some of these environments in other texts.

ṇ is found to occur in KR and AK

y in AK

l in KR, AK and IN

7.2.1. after the vowel *e*: in *aḷapeṭai*

ce:er the act of giving PT 41-11

7.2.2. after all consonants except *ñ*, *t*, *ṇ*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *ḷ*, and *ṛ*

<i>keṭa</i>	to be destroyed	PT 21-28
<i>cey</i>	doing	22-12
<i>ñemar</i>	widening	14-11
<i>teri</i>	knowing	22-4
<i>neñcu</i>	mind	20-8
<i>peyar</i>	things	21-1
<i>mel</i>	soft	40-23
<i>veḷ</i>	white	42-3
<i>kaṭṭanen</i>	saw-I	76-9

7.2.3. after *ṇ*, *y* and *l*

<i>eṇney</i>	oil	KR 312-6
<i>uḷayen</i>	have-I	AK 376-1
<i>alleṇo:</i>	am I not?	IN 280-3

7.3. In PT *e* occurs medially before

1. all the consonants except *c* though
2. it occurs in the environment in other texts.

c is found to occur in PR KR, AK and PP.

7.3.1. before all the consonants except *c*.

<i>nekila</i>	to loose	PT 68-15
<i>teṇku</i>	coconut tree	13-7
<i>neñcinar</i>	of the mind, they	26-9
<i>keṭa</i>	to be destroyed	21-28
<i>teṇ</i>	clear	40-17
<i>cettu</i>	having thought	90-42
<i>cenni</i>	head	27-4
<i>ceppa</i>	to worship	82-1
<i>cem</i>	reddish	11-7
<i>cey</i>	doing	22-12
<i>ceru</i>	fight	14-9
<i>cel</i>	going	41-11
<i>ceyvitu</i>	of perfection-it	22-8

<i>keḷi:l</i>	having been fitted	PT 63-2
<i>teḷ</i>	clear	27-7
<i>ceru</i>	field	71-3
<i>cenru</i>	having gone	20-3

7.3.2. *after c*

<i>ceccai</i>	he-goat	PR 256-1
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8.0. *e:*

In PT *e:* occurs initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with the other texts of OT.

8.1. In PT it occurs initially before

1. the vowel *e* in *aḷapeṭai*
2. all the consonants except *k, ṇ, c, ñ, ʃ, p, l, ɭ* and *!* though
3. it occurs in some of these environments in the other texts.

k is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, IN, NR, KL, PAR, PP, TK, CIL and MM.

ṇ in KR, AK, PAR, CIL and MM

c in KR, AK, PAR and CIL

ʃ in MM

l in PR, PAR, TK, CIL and MM

ɭ in PR, KR, AK, NR, KL, PAR, PP, TK, CIL and MM

8.1.1. *before the vowel e: in aḷapeṭai*

<i>e:ey</i>	having commanded	PT 11-13
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8.1.2. *before all the consonants except k, ṇ, c, ñ, ʃ, p, l, ɭ and !*

<i>e:ṇi</i>	boundary	PT 24-14
<i>e:tta</i>	to praise	20-14
<i>e:ntɭ</i>	having held	24-3
<i>e:mam</i>	safety	11-4

<i>elyppa</i>	to resemble	66-13
<i>e:r</i>	plough share	43-16
<i>e:val</i>	command	24-3
<i>e:rupa</i>	to get	64-5
<i>e:ṇam</i>	pig	16-6

8.1.3. *before k, ṇ, c, ʃ, l, and !.*

<i>e:ki</i>	having walked	PR 47-8
<i>e:ṇki</i>	having worried	KR 816-4
<i>e:cupa</i>	will abuse-they	AR 336-12
<i>e:ṭu</i>	petal	MM 19-3
<i>e:lla:tu</i>	without receiving	PR 179-2
<i>e:ḷil</i>	the name of a mount	NR 391-7

8.2. In PT *e:* occurs medially after

1. all the consonants except *ṇ, ñ, ʃ, ṇ, y, ɭ, !* and *n* though
2. it occurs in some of these environments in the other texts.

ṇ is found to occur in PP

ʃ in PR, IN, NR, KL and CIL

ṇ in KR, AK, NR, KL, TK and CIL

y in PR, KR, AK, NR, KL, PP, TK, CIL and MM

ɭ in KR, AK, IN, NR and KL,

! in KR, AK, PAR, IN and TK

n in PR, IN and MM

8.2.1. *after all the consonants except ṇ, ñ, ʃ, ṇ, y, ɭ, ! and n*

<i>ke:ṭṭu</i>	having heard	PT 74-1
<i>ce:rupu</i>	to reach	40-27
<i>te:m</i>	honey	30-16
<i>ne:ri</i>	Neeri mountain	67-22
<i>pe:y</i>	devil	13-15
<i>me:val</i>	desire	15-28
<i>va:re:n</i>	will not come-I	61-11

<i>alle:m</i>	not-we	PT 58-7
<i>ve:tpu</i>	desire	21-27
<i>ku:re:n</i>	will not say-I	61-11

<i>ke:!</i>	listening	12-9
<i>ce:ru</i>	taste	42-12
<i>me:na</i>	were desired-they	13-20

8.2.2. after *n̄*, *t*, *n̄*, *y*, *l*, *!*, and *n̄*

<i>ne:li</i>	rubbing	PP 4-178
<i>pa:te:n</i>	will not sing-I	PR 34-17
<i>ka:ne:n̄</i>	will not see-I	KR 31-3
<i>tiriye:n̄</i>	will not cause to whirl-I	AK 336-19
<i>a:le:l</i>	don't be immersed	AK 97-15
<i>u!le:n̄</i>	will not think-I	IN 142-3
<i>pa:ti:ne:m</i>	sang-we	PR 144-3

8.3. In PT *e*: occurs medially before

1. the vowel *e* in *a!apetai*
 2. all the consonants except *c*, *n̄*, *t*, and *p* though
 3. it occurs before *c*, *t*, *p*, in other texts.
- c* is found to occur in PAR and CIL
- t* in PR, KR, AK, IN, NR, KL, PP, TK and CIL
- p* in KR, AK, NR, KL, PP and CIL

8.3.1. before the vowel *e* in *a!apetai*

<i>ce:er</i>	the act of going	PT 41-11
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8.3.2. before all the consonants except *c*, *n̄*, *t* and *p*.

<i>ce:kkum</i>	which will reside	PT 51-5
<i>ve:nkay</i>	king tree	41-8
<i>ke:tpa</i>	to hear	70-23
<i>ce:n̄</i>	distant place	22-5
<i>ve:ntar</i>	kings	23-17
<i>ce:mpu</i>	Indian kales	24-20
<i>ce:y</i>	distance	73-8
<i>ce:r</i>	having	30-23
<i>me:l</i>	upon	11-19
<i>ce:yal</i>	male eagle	35-5
<i>ve:lattu</i>	elephant	30-11

8.3.3. before *c*, *t* and *p*.

<i>te!cikam!</i>	the use of all tamil words	CIL 3-30
<i>ce:tu</i>	red	NR 213-4
<i>ce:ppu</i>	water plant	KL 74-2

8.4. In PT *e*: occurs finally after

1. all the consonants except *n̄*, *n̄* and *n̄*

8.4.1. after all the consonants except *n̄*, *n̄*, and *n̄*

<i>pulukke:</i>	boiled dhal	PT 18-2
<i>murace:</i>	drum	30-44
<i>ka:te:</i>	land	44-23
<i>kanne:</i>	eye	50-26
<i>ve:nte:</i>	king	12-3
<i>a!uppe:</i>	over cooked	18-6
<i>ta:me:</i>	themselves	22-38
<i>nacaiye:</i>	desire	18-12
<i>unara:to!re:</i>	they who will not know	51-24
<i>ey!le:</i>	rampart	52-31
<i>ko:ve:</i>	chief	21-23
<i>pukale:</i>	fame	79-19
<i>na:te:</i>	life time	55-21
<i>co:re:</i>	cooked rice	18-1
<i>vanticine:</i>	come-I	15-15

9.0. *ai*

In PT *ai* is found to occur initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other OT texts.

9.1. In PT *ai* occurs initially before

1. the consonants *n̄* *m* and *y* only, though
2. it occurs before *!*, *t* and *v* also in some of the other texts.

i is found to occur in PP.

t in PR, KR, AK, IN, NR, KL, PP, CIL and MM

v in PR, KR, IN, NR, KL, PAR, PP, CIL and MM

9.1.1. *before the consonants m, n and y*

<i>atm</i>	five	PT 14-5
<i>aintu</i>	five	14-4
<i>aiyam</i>	doubt	21-16

9.1.2. *before i, t and v*

<i>aiiya</i>	of the wonder-they	PP 6-413
<i>aitu</i>	beautiful	PR 29-2
<i>aivayam</i>	mountain paddy	IN 267-3

9.2. In PT *ai* occurs medially

1. after all the consonants except *ñ* and *n* though
2. it occurs after *n* in some of the other OT texts.

ñ is found to occur in PR, AK and NR

9.2.1. *after all the consonants except ñ and n*

<i>akaippa</i>	to run fast	PT 25-12
<i>acaitta</i>	which was fastened	58-2
<i>uññaiyan</i>	he who had baboon vine	56-5
<i>añaicci</i>	having caused to collect	27-2
<i>anaitta</i>	which was set	33-2
<i>citai</i>	perishing	15-11
<i>paim</i>	greenish	11-17
<i>amaiiya</i>	which was set	50-13
<i>iyainta</i>	which had got	50-24
<i>araiçu</i>	sovereign	34-11
<i>alaiitta</i>	which caused suffering	70-4
<i>ariyaiyar</i>	women	68-19
<i>iñaiya</i>	young	12-11
<i>añaiippa</i>	to cryout	79-13
<i>añainar</i>	reapers	19-22
<i>añaittu</i>	that much	20-6

9.2.2. *after n*

naippa to put out PR 23-10

9.3. In PT *ai* occurs medially before

1. the vowel *i* *añapeñai*
2. all the consonants except *ñ*, *t*, *v*, *r*, *l*, *l*, *l*, *r* and *n* though
3. it occurs before *r* in CIL

9.3.1. *before the vowel i in añapeñai*

amaiiya which was set PT 50-13

9.3.2. *before all the consonants except ñ, t, v, r, l, l, l, r, and n*

<i>icaikkum</i>	which will cause to know	PT 81-5
<i>añaicci</i>	having caused to collect	27-2
<i>iññaiya</i>	who bent down	24-24
<i>acaitta</i>	which was fastened	58-2
<i>amainta</i>	which was set	34-8
<i>añaiçu</i>	to be complete	30-32
<i>uññaimai</i>	possession	22-2
<i>acaiya</i>	who will not diminish	82-15
<i>acaiyu</i>	instability	69-11

9.3.3. *before r*

pairayan name of a chieftain CIL 26-182

9.4. In PT *ai* occurs finally after

1. all the consonants except *ñ*

9.4.1. *after all the consonants except ñ*

<i>arukai</i>	name of chieftain	PT 44-10
<i>acai</i>	slender	16-13
<i>uññai</i>	baboon Uine	43-23
<i>añai</i>	obstacle	22-4
<i>añai</i>	bed	50-19
<i>allatai</i>	only that	52-11
<i>vallunai</i>	of the ability-you (sg)	52-27
<i>karampai</i>	waste land	28-7

<i>amai</i>	setting	PT 12-18
<i>ariyai</i>	rare-you (sg)	14-2
<i>ayirai</i>	name of a goddess	88-12
<i>añcalai</i>	will not fear-you (sg)	63-3
<i>arivai</i>	woman	19-14
<i>iḷai</i>	jewel	12-23
<i>aḷai</i>	crevice	28-7
<i>arai</i>	cutting	75-6
<i>aruttinai</i>	caused to eat, you (sg)	70-18

10.0. *o*

In PT *o* occurs initially, medially and finally and it has to be mentioned here that there is a solitary occurrence of it in the final position in the whole of Tamil texts. In AK, only, its final occurrence is attested.

10.1. In PT *o* occurs initially before

1. all the consonants except *ñ*, *c*, *ñ*, *n* *m* and *v* though
2. it is found to occur initially before *c* and *v* in the other texts.

c is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, NR, PAR and CIL

v in IN, PAR, CIL and MM

10.1.1. before all the consonants except *ñ*, *c*, *ñ*, *n*, *m* and *v*

<i>okkal</i>	relations	PT 64-19
<i>oṭiya:</i>	which was not ceasing	15-40
<i>oṇmai</i>	knowledge	70-13
<i>utirttu</i>	having nemoved	VR 74-10
<i>oppum</i>	who will derive	73-5
<i>oyyum</i>	„	73-5
<i>ora:a</i>	having abandoned	72-9
<i>olkinaḷ</i>	she who moved	51-10
<i>oḷittu</i>	having avoided	72-13
<i>oḷ</i>	bright	13-21
<i>orru</i>	the act of attaching	25-6
<i>onru</i>	one	15-29

10.1.2. before *c* and *v*

<i>ociyal</i>	broken branch	KR 112-4
<i>ovva:y</i>	will not be similar-	you, CIL 7-23-1

10.2. In PT *o* occurs medially after

1. the vowel *o:* in *aḷapeṭai*
2. all the consonants except *ñ*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *n*, *v* and *ḷ* though
3. it is found to occur in some of these environments in other texts.

ñ is found to occur in AK

n in NR, TK and CIL

v in NR, TK and CIL

ḷ in PAR and TK

10.2.1. after the vowel *o:* in *aḷapeṭai*

<i>oioy</i>	having commended	PT 11-13
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10.2.2. after all the consonants except *ñ*, *ñ*, *ṭ*, *n*, *v* and *ḷ*

<i>koṭi</i>	flag	PT 14-16
<i>col</i>	word	15-26
<i>toṭi</i>	metal ring	15-22
<i>noṭai</i>	price	30-12
<i>pon</i>	gold	15-19
<i>moli</i>	word	21-4
<i>o:ṭaiyoṭu</i>	front let	11-17
<i>makaḷiroṭu</i>	with women	13-21
<i>a:mpaloṭu</i>	with water lily	19-20
<i>uraiyuloṭu</i>	the act of residing	89-15
<i>e:roṭu</i>	with oxen	71-13
<i>u:ṇoṭu</i>	with flesh	30-10

10.2.3. after *ñ*, *n*, *v*, *ḷ*

<i>ñolki</i>	having diminished	AK 31-2
<i>kannoṭu</i>	with the eye	NR 98-12
<i>uruvoṭu</i>	with the form	TK 585
<i>pukaloṭu</i>	with fame	TK 652

10.3. In PT *o* occurs medially before

1. all the consonants except *ñ, n, p, v,* and *m* though
 2. it occurs before *n, p, m* in other texts
- n* is found to occur in KR, AK and TK,
p in PP
m in KR, AK, PAR, PP, TK and CIL

10.3.1. before all the consonants except *ñ, n, p, m* and *v*

<i>kokku</i>	stork	PT 21-27
<i>koñkar</i>	warriors of the	
	kongu country	22-15
<i>nociya:</i>	which was not weak	45-3
<i>koṭpa</i>	to roam	81-7
<i>koṇṭa</i>	which had	18-9
<i>poti</i>	filling	16-12
<i>koy</i>	cropping	19-22
<i>cori</i>	pouring	47-5
<i>kol</i>	killing	16-8
<i>koḷu</i>	fatness	44-17
<i>koḷ</i>	having	12-6
<i>korṛa</i>	victory	90-24
<i>konru</i>	having killed	11-10

10.3.2. before *n, p, m*

<i>nontu</i>	having suffered	KR 65-5
<i>koppu:l</i>	navel	PP 2-37
<i>kompu</i>	branch of a tree	AK 21-11

10.4 In PT *o* does not occur finally though

1. it is found occur finally after *n* in KR in only one instance and this is the only occurrence in the whole of the OT texts

TOL (E. 172) also says *o* can occur finally with *n* though Iḷam does not give any example or this. Nac. (E. 72) gives the example *no korrai*:

10.4.1. after *n*

no lightness KR 172-1

11.0. *o:*

In PT *o:* occurs initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other OT texts.

11.1. In PT *o:* occurs initially before

1. the vowel *o* in *aḷapeṭai*
 2. all the consonants except *ñ, ṇ, n, l, ḷ, ḷ,* *r* and *n* though
 3. it occurs before *l* in other texts,
- l* is found to occur in PR, AK, NR and KL

11.1.1. before the vowel *o* in *aḷapeṭai*

o:oy having commended PT 11-13

11.1.2. before all the consonants except *ñ, ṇ, n, l, ḷ, ḷ, r* and *n*

<i>o:kkiya</i>	which was raised	PT 52-22
<i>o:ñkal</i>	height	55-21
<i>o:cca</i>	to raise	19-8
<i>o:ṭi</i>	having run	49-11
<i>o:tal</i>	recitation	24-6
<i>o:ppum</i>	who will desire	12-12
<i>o:mpi</i>	having protected	13-24
<i>o:y</i>	weary	60-7
<i>o:r</i>	one	90-52
<i>o:vattu</i>	picture	61-3

11.1.3. before *l*

o:lai palm leaf AK 77-4

11.2. In PT *o:* occurs medially after

1. all the consonants except *ñ, ṇ, r* though
 2. it occurs medially after *r* in other texts
- KR, AK, NR, PAR, PP and TK

11.2.1. *after all the consonants except ñ, ñ̃, and r*

<i>ko:ɸu</i>	tusk	PT 30-11
<i>co:lai</i>	flower garden	81-24
<i>ma:ɸo:r</i>	Gods	70-23
<i>ce:ɸo:n</i>	of the distance-he (V.R)	44-11
<i>to:ɸu</i>	collection	12-6
<i>no:ku</i>	will be sorry-I	26-5
<i>po:ku</i>	going	27 13
<i>mo:ku:r</i>	name of a place	44-14
<i>uɸa:ɸi:ɸo:r</i>	those who fought	71-8
<i>nallo:ɸ</i>	she who was good	61-4
<i>uravo:r</i>	they who had	
	knowledge	73-1
<i>pukalo:y</i>	you who had the fame	90-40
<i>ivalo:ɸu</i>	with-she	21-37
<i>uɸa:ɸo:r</i>	those who were enraged	25-5
<i>a:ɸno:r</i>	they who were similar	42-7

11.2.2. *after r*

<i>u:ro:ɸ</i>	of the village-she	KR 242-4
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11.3 In PT *o:* occurs medially before

1. all the consonants except ñ, ñ̃, *ɸ* and *p* though
2. it occurs medially before ñ, *ɸ* and *p* in some of the other texts

ñ is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, and PP

ɸ in PR, KR, AK, IN, NR and PP

p in PR, KR, AK, PAR and PP

11.3.1. *before all the consonants except ñ, ñ̃, ɸ and p*

<i>no:ku</i>	will be sorry-I	PT 26-5
<i>puro:cu</i>	priest	9-12
<i>ko:ɸu</i>	tusk	30-11
<i>ko:tai</i>	garland	49-2
<i>po:ntu</i>	having reached	23-5
<i>ko:ma:n</i>	chief	67-23
<i>to:y</i>	touching	17-13

<i>po:r</i>	war	11-16
<i>ko:l</i>	sceptre	79-11
<i>ko:valar</i>	cowherds	21-20
<i>po:ɸ</i>	tender palmyra leaf	21-20
<i>to:ɸ</i>	shoulder	19-8
<i>co:ɸu</i>	cooked rice	12-17
<i>ko:n</i>	king (VR)	61-6

11.3.2. *before ñ, ɸ, and p*

<i>ko:nku</i>	common caung (a kind of tree)	KR 15-3
<i>to:ɸi</i>	boat	AK 80-1
<i>ko:pam</i>	cochineal	PP 3-168

11.4 In PT *o:* occurs finally after

1. the consonants *k*, *t*, *m*, *r*, and *r*, though
2. it occurs with *ɸ*, *p*, *y*, *l*, *v*, *ɸ* and *n* in some of the other texts in OT.

ɸ is found to occur in NR, TK and MM

p in TK

y in IN, NR and TK

l in IN and TK

v in NR and TK

ɸ in IN

n in IN, NR and TK

11.4.1. *after k, t, m, r and r*

<i>no:ko:</i>	will be sorry-I	PT 26-5
<i>puraivato:</i>	that which will resemble	17-1
<i>uyyumo:</i>	will escape	16-14
<i>u:laro:</i>	are they	45-18
<i>anro:</i>	that day	19-24

11.4.2. *after ɸ, t, p, y, l, v, ɸ and n*

<i>uɸto:</i>	it is	NR 130-5
<i>peyarttato:</i>	the act of removing	NR 74-11
<i>pacappo:</i>	pale	TK 1240

<i>ta:yo:</i>	mother	IN 409-2
<i>collo:</i>	speech	IN 162-4
<i>ituvō:</i>	this-it	NR 99-5
<i>maka!o:</i>	daughter	IN 418-3
<i>evano:</i>	what	TK 1260

12.0. *au*

In PT *au* is found to occur only in medial position and this is also the case with other OT texts except NR, where there is a solitary occurrence in the final position.

12.1. In PT *au* occurs medially after

1. the consonants *p* and *v* though
2. it also occurs medially after some of the other environments in some of the OT texts.

k is found to occur in KR, AK, IN, NR, KL, PP, TK, CIL and MM

t in NR

n in NR and PP

m in KR, AK, KL, PAR and PP

12.1.1. after the consonants *p* and *v*

<i>pauvattu</i>	ocean	PT 42-21
<i>vauvi</i>	having captured	90-22

12.1.2. after the consonants, *k*, *t*, *n* and *m*

<i>kauvai</i>	scandal	KR 112-1
<i>tauviṇa</i>	perished-they	NR 397-3
<i>nauvi</i>	deer	PP 6-275
<i>mauval</i>	wild Jasmine	PAR XII-77

12.2. In PT *au* occurs medially before

1. *v*, though
 2. it occurs medially before some of the other environments in other texts.
- c* is found to occur in CIL and MM

r in CIL

12.2.1. before *v*

<i>vauvi</i>	having captured	PT 90-22
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12.2.2. before *c* and *r*

<i>kaucikan</i>	name of a person	MM 3-29
<i>kauriyar</i>	pandyars	CIL 15-2

12.3. In PT *au* does not occur finally, though

1. it occur finally after *t* in NR

12.3.1. after *t*

<i>tau</i>	much	NR 115-8
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13.0. *k*

In PT *k* is found to occur initially and medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

TOL (61) says that it occurs initially before all vowels. In cutram (61) he mentions that *k*, *t*, *n* *p* and *m* will commence a word with all the vowels. But *c* with *a*, *ai*, and *au* and *v* with *u*, *u:* and *o*, will not occur initially. (62 and 63) It is also mentioned (64) that *ñ* with *ā*, *e* and *ō* and *r* with *ā* alone will begin a word (65).

13.1. In PT *k* occurs initially before

1. all the vowels short and long and
2. the diphthongs *ai* and *au*

13.1.1. before all the vowels short and long

<i>kan</i>	eye	13-4
<i>ka:n</i>	seeing	40-29
<i>kiṇai</i>	a kind of drum	90-44
<i>ki:l</i>	down	75-4
<i>kuṭai</i>	parasol	17-13
<i>ku:kai</i>	rock henned owl	44-18
<i>keṭu</i>	dying	23-3
<i>ke:l</i>	friend	44-11

<i>koṭiya</i>	having the flag	34-5
<i>ko:ṭu</i>	tusk	30-11

13.1.2. *before the diphthongs ai and au*

<i>k i</i>	hand	49-6
<i>kautamaṇa:r</i>	name of a poet	3-12

13.2 In PT *k* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels both short and long
2. all the consonants except *c*, *t*, and *p*, though
3. it is found to occur medially after the diphthongs *ai* and *au* in some of the other OT texts

ai is found to occur in PR, KR, IN and KL

au in PR

13.2.1. *after all the vowels short and long*

<i>akam</i>	inside	22-15
<i>a:ki</i>	having become	26-6
<i>ikal</i>	hostility	14-13
<i>i:kai</i>	gold	38-7
<i>ukir</i>	nail	12-4
<i>ku:kai</i>	rock henned owl	44-18
<i>vekuṇṭu</i>	having enraged	14-10
<i>ce:kkum</i>	which will reside	51-5
<i>tokutta</i>	which was collected	38-13
<i>po:ka</i>	to reach	32-15

13.2.2. *after all the consonants except c, ṇ, t, n, p and m*

<i>aṭaṇku</i>	settling	45-2
<i>koṭkum</i>	which will whirl round	17-12
<i>ka:ṇku</i>	will see-I	16-9
<i>ceykvai</i>	will do-you	36-14
<i>nukarke:m</i>	will enjoy-we	38-13
<i>nalkum</i>	which will give	55-11
<i>evkam</i>	sword	19-4
<i>va:lka</i>	let (it) live	20-5

<i>kaḷkai</i>	chastity	15-29
<i>naṛku</i>	clearly	26-4
<i>nan̄ku</i>	clearly	72-7

13.2.3. *after ai and au*

<i>vaikarai</i>	day break	IN 188-3
<i>vauka</i>	whrite stomach (VR)	PR 387-2

13.3. In PT *k* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *e* and *o*
2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it occurs medially before *o* in some of the other OT texts.

o is found to occur in AK, NR, PAR and CIL

13.3.1. *before all the vowels short and long except e and o*

<i>akal</i>	widening	15-8
<i>a:ka:tu</i>	without becoming	59-1
<i>tukir</i>	coral	30-7
<i>miki:i</i>	having made to increase	84-11
<i>upkuvam</i>	will eat-we	58-7
<i>iku:u</i>	having beaten	40-3
<i>nukarke:m</i>	will enjoy-we	38-13
<i>no:ko:</i>	will-be sorry-I	26-5

13.3.2. *before the diphthong ai*

<i>akuippa</i>	to run fast	25-12
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13.3.3. *before o*

<i>aṇaṇkoṭu</i>	with deity	IN 165-3
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13.4. In PT *kk* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *kk* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long

2. the diphthong *ai*

3. the consonants *y*, *r* and *l*

13.4.1. *after all the vowels short and long*

<i>aṭakkiya</i>	who controlled	45-16
<i>ka:kkum</i>	who will protect	45-10
<i>aṭikkunar</i>	destroyers	22-29
<i>ni:kki</i>	having turned	17-4
<i>aṭukkiya</i>	which was added	68-6
<i>u:kku</i>	strength	31-32
<i>vekkai</i>	threshing	71-3
<i>ce:kkum</i>	which will reside	51-5
<i>okkal</i>	relations	64-19
<i>o:kkiya</i>	which some one raised	52-22

13.4.2. *before the diphthong ai*

<i>icaikkum</i>	which will cause to know	81-5
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13.4.3. *before the consonants y, r and l*

<i>moykkum</i>	which will crowd	22-14
<i>atirkkum</i>	which will cause to tremble	30-42
<i>va:ḷkkai</i>	life	48-15

13.5. In PT *kk* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* and *e*;
2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it is found to occur medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

a: is found to occur in KR, KL, TK, CIL and MM

i: in KL and CIL

u: in KR

o: in PR, KR, AK, PP, TK and CIL

13.5.1. *before the vowels a, i, u and e:*

<i>aṭukkatta</i>	having the mountain slope	55-18
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<i>ni:kki</i>	having turned	17-4
<i>aṭikkunar</i>	destroyers	22-29
<i>pulukke:</i>	boiled dhal	18-2

13.5.2. *before the diphthong ai*

<i>ulakkai</i>	pestle	29-1
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13.5.3. *before a:, i:, u: and o:*

<i>uvakka:n</i>	see-you	KR 367-3
<i>takki:r</i>	you who have the worthiness	CIL 11-117
<i>mi:kkurum</i>	which will increase	AK 305-4
<i>pukko:n</i>	he who entered	PR 39-3

14. *ñ*

In PT *ñ* is found to occur medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts

14.1. In PT *ñ* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long except *e*: though
2. it occurs medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts

e: is found to occur in AK, IN and MM

14.1.1. *after all the vowels including short and long except e:*

<i>ilaṅkum</i>	which will shine	56-5
<i>a:ṅka</i>	there	26-4
<i>tiṅkaḷ</i>	moon	90-17
<i>i:ṅku</i>	this place	88-39
<i>oṭuṅka:</i>	who will not be restrained	31-32
<i>u:ṅku</i>	before	29-15
<i>teṅku</i>	conconut tree	13-7
<i>poṅku</i>	rising	60-12
<i>o:ṅkal</i>	height	55-21

14.1.2. *after e:*

<i>e:ṅki</i>	having languished	AK 120-8
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14.2. In PT *ñ* occurs medially before

1. the consonant *k* only

14.2.1. before the consonant *k*

aṭaṅka to cease 40-8

14.3. *ññ*

In PT *ññ* is not found to occur though it occurs medially in some of the other OT texts.

It occurs medially after

1. the vowel *a:*, *e*.

14.3.1. after the vowel *a:*

ya:ññanam how AK 90-8

eññanam how TK 25-1

It occurs medially before

1. the vowel *a*

14.3.2. before the vowel *a*

ya:ññanam how AK 90-8

15. *c*

In PT *c* is found to occur initially and medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

15.1. TOL () has said then *c* will not occur initially with *a*, *ai* and *au*. But in many of the OT texts it is found with *a*. Examples like

cakkaram

cakaṭam

cakaṭu

cankam

conkiṭi

canku

caṭai

caṇpakam

catukkam

etc. can be found in many of the OT texts.

15.1. In PT *c* occurs initially before

1. all the vowels short and long

15.1.1. before all the vowels short and long

<i>cantam</i>	sandal	87-2
<i>ca:ntu</i>	sandal paste	42-11
<i>citai</i>	perishing	15-11
<i>ci:rram</i>	fury	15-2
<i>curram</i>	relation	12-24
<i>cu:l</i>	pregnancy	24-28
<i>cey</i>	doing	22-12
<i>ce:y</i>	distance	73-8
<i>col</i>	word	15-26
<i>co:ru</i>	cooked rice	12-17

15.2. In PT *c* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long except *e*, *e:* and *o:*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *ñ*, *ṭ* *l* and *r* though
4. it occurs medially after in some other environments in some of the other OT texts

e: is found to occur in KR, AK, KL, CIL and MM

o: in PR, KR, AK, TK, CIL and MM

15.2.1. after all the vowels except *e*, *e:* *o:*

<i>acai</i>	slender	16-13
<i>pa:caṭai</i>	army camp	16-8
<i>icai</i>	fame	11-5
<i>vi:ci</i>	having given in abundance	20-16
<i>kurucil</i>	chief	24-14
<i>u:cal</i>	swing	43-2
<i>mocintu</i>	having crowded	11-12

15.2.2. after the diphthong *ai*

<i>araicu</i>	sovereign	34-11
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15.2.3. after the consonants *ñ, t, l* and *r*

<i>iñci</i>	rampart	62-10
<i>ma:ŋci</i>	glory	42-6
<i>valci</i>	food	75-12
<i>murareci</i>	having ent	44-16

15.2.4. after *e:* and *o:*

<i>e:cuyar</i>	will abuse-they	KR 284-5
<i>o:cai</i>	sound	AK 261-13

15.3. In PT *c* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a, a:, i* and *u*
2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it occurs medially before some other environments in some of the other OT texts

i: is found to occur in MM

e in AK

e: in AK, NR, TK and MM

o: in KL and MM

15.3.1. before the vowels *a, a:, i* and *u*

<i>aracar</i>	kings	43-8
<i>añca:r</i>	will not fear-they	72-1
<i>añci</i>	having feared	31-18
<i>añcum</i>	who will fear	57-14

15.3.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>acaitta</i>	which was fastened	58-2
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15.3.3. before *i:, e, e:* and *o:*

<i>a:ci:yakanu:l</i>	religions book	MM 27-108
<i>iḷamperuñcenni</i>	name of a Chola king	AK 375-11
<i>añce:n</i>	will not fear-I	NR 397-7
<i>aco:kam</i>	ashoka tree	KL 57-12

15.4. *cc*

In PT *cc* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *cc* occurs medially after

1. the vowels *a, i, u, e* and *o:*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonant *l* though
4. it occurs medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts

t: is found to occur in TK

u: is found to occur in CIL

e: in CIL

o in PR, KR, AK, KL, TK and CIL

y in CIL

r in IN, NR, PP, CIL and MM

15.4.1. after the vowels *a, i, u, e* and *o:*

<i>accam</i>	terror	22-2
<i>palicca</i>	to praise	41-6
<i>mucci</i>	tuft of hair	43-1
<i>eccam</i>	remainders	74-25
<i>o:cca</i>	to raise	19-8

15.4.2. after the diphthong *ai*

<i>a:ai:cci</i>	having caused to collect	27-2
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15.4.3. after the consonant *l*

<i>va:lcci</i>	life	56-7
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15.4.4. after *i:, u:, e:, o, y* and *r*

<i>ti:ccol</i>	harmful words	TK 128
<i>pu:ccinar</i>	they who have the smearing	CIL 26-225
<i>e:ccu</i>	reproach	CIL 29-7-2
<i>nocci</i>	chaste tree	KR 138-3

<i>a:ycciyar</i>	women of cowherd	15-206
	caste	CIL
<i>etircci</i>	meeting	NR 30-4

15.5. In PT *cc* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* though
2. it occurs medially before the diphthong *ai* in some of the other OT texts

ai in PR, KR, AK. PP and MM

15.5.1. before the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*

<i>accam</i>	terror	22-2
<i>valleci</i>	life	56-7
<i>accu</i>	axle	90-2

15.5.2. before *ai*

<i>ceccai</i>	a flower	PP 1-208
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16.0. *ñ*

In PT *ñ* is found to occur initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other OT texts.

16.1. In PT *ñ* occurs initially before

1. the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i* and *e* though
 2. it occurs initially before *o* in AK
- o* is found to occur in AK

16.1.1. before the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i* and *e*

<i>ñaralum</i>	which will sound	51-14
<i>ña:n</i>	string	90-33
<i>ñimiru</i>	honey bee	12-12
<i>ñemar</i>	widening	14-11

16.1.2. before *o*

<i>ñoḷki</i>	having diminished	AK 31-2
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16.2. In PT *ñ* occurs medially after

1. the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i*, *e* and *u*

2. the diphthong *ai*

16.2.1. after the vowel *a*, *a:*, *i*, *e* and *u*

<i>añcalai</i>	do not fear-you	63-3
<i>ka:ñci</i>	tree	23-19
<i>miñiru</i>	bee	60-4
<i>eñcu</i>	having made to diminish	61-11
<i>uñarrum</i>	will blow vigorously	51-8

16.2.2. after the diphthong *ai*

<i>iraiñciya</i>	who bent down	24-24
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16.3. In PT *ñ* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a* and *i*
 2. the diphthong *ai*
 3. the consonant *c* though
 4. it occurs medially before *u* in AK
- u* is found to occur in AK

16.3.1. before the vowel *a* and *i*

<i>vinaiñar</i>	ploughmen	58-15
<i>miñiru</i>	bee	60-4

16.3.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>uḷiñaiyan</i>	he who had baboon vine	56-5
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16.3.3. before the consonant *c*

16.3.4. before *u*

<i>uriñu</i>	rubbing	AK 211-4
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16.4. In PT *ñ* occurs finally after

1. the diphthong *ai* though
 2. it occurs after *u* in PR
- u* is found to occur in PR

16.4.1. after the diphthong *ai*

<i>paiñ</i>	greenish	17-9
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16.4.2. after *u*

ceṛikunaruñ they who will wear
(VR) PR 378-15

16.5. *ññ*

In PT *ññ* occurs medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *ññ* occurs medially after

1. the vowel *a*, though
2. it occurs medially after some other environments in some of the other OT texts.

i is found to occur in MM

e in PAR and TK

16.4.2. after the vowel *a*

maññai peacock 90-42

16.5.2. after *i* and *e*

viññai vidyādhara women MM 20-70
eñña:ñru when TK 44

16.6. In PT *ññ* occurs medially before

1. the diphthong *ai* though
 2. it occurs medially before *a:* in TK
- a:* is found to occur in PAR and TK

16.6.1. before the diphthong *ai*

maññai peacock 90-42

16.6.2. before *a:*

eñña:ñru when TK 44

17.0. *ṭ*

In PT *ṭ* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

17.1. In PT *ṭ* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long
2. the consonant *ṇ*

17.1.1. after all the vowels short and long

<i>aṭu</i>	killling	11-16
<i>a:ṭu</i>	moving	12-11
<i>iṭam</i>	country	12-2
<i>pi:ṭu</i>	greatness	50-26
<i>uṭai</i>	breaking	46-12
<i>ku:ṭu</i>	expedient	27-5
<i>keṭa</i>	to be destroyed	21-28
<i>ke:ṭu</i>	damage	79-19
<i>koṭiya</i>	having the flag	34-5
<i>ko:ṭu</i>	tusk	30-11

17.1.2. -after the consonant *ṇ*

kaṇṭu having seen PT 15-15

17.2. In PT *ṭ* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels except *i:*, *e* and *o*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *k*, *c* and *p* though
4. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some [of the other OT texts

i: is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, IN and KL

o in PAR and TK

17.2.1. before all the vowels except *i:*, *e* and *o*

<i>aṇṭar</i>	shepherds	88-9
<i>a:ṭa:</i>	will not plough-they	25-1
<i>iṭi</i>	thunder	66-4
<i>kaṇṭu</i>	having seen	15-15
<i>a:ṭu:u</i>	man	86-4
<i>ka:ṭe:</i>	forest	44-23
<i>a:ṇṭo:r</i>	they who rule	69-12

17.2.2. before the diphthong *ai*

aṭaici having caused to collect, 27 2

17.2.3. before the consonants *k*, *c*, and *p*

ve:ṭkai desire 15-31
ma:ṭci glory 42-6
ke:ṭpa to hear 70-23

17.2.4. before *i*, *o*

paṭi:ya to enjoy AK-4
na:ṭorum daily TK 553

17.3. *ṭṭ*

In PT *ṭṭ* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *ṭṭ* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long

17.3.1. after all the vowels short and long

aṭṭu having destroyed 47-1
pa:ṭṭu nature 46-9
iṭṭa which was laid 30-22
vi:ṭṭi having defeated 5-6p
kuṭṭuvāṇ name of a Chera king 29-14
ku:ṭṭam crowd 88-24
eṭṭu eight 2-p
ke:ṭṭal the act of hearing 12-9
toṭṭa which was pierced 49-10
toṭṭi guard 25-5

17.4. In PT *ṭṭ* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels except *i*, *e*, *e*, *o* though
2. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts

i: is found to occur in KL and CIL

e: in IN, KL, CIL and MM

o in CIL

ai in PR, KR and IN

17.4.1. before all the vowels except *i*, *e*, *e*: and *o*

kaṭṭaṭai rank 81-17
viṭṭa:n left-he 19-p
o:ṭṭi having caused to run 44-20
aṭṭu having destroyed 47-1
kaṭṭu:r military camp 68-2
naṭṭo:r they who were friends 63-3

17.4.2. before *i*, *e*: *o* and *ai*

ke:ṭṭi:miṇ hear-you (pl), CIL 18-48
ve:ṭṭe:m desired-we IN 2-6
pa:ṭṭoṭu with the song, CIL 27-213
muṭṭai egg, CIL 173-6

18.0. *ṇ*

In PT *ṇ* is found to occur medially and finally only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

18.1. In PT *ṇ* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long except *o*: though
2. it occurs medially after *o*: in some of the other OT texts.

o: is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, IN, PP, TK and MM.

18.1.1. after all the vowels short and long except *o*:

paṇpu nature 15-32
a:ṇmai courage 14-6
iṇar bunch of flowers 51-5
i:ṇi having gathered 72-9
kuṇṇu hollow 20-17
tu:ṇi quiver 45-1
peṇmai modesty 70-14
pe:ṇi having protected 21-15
koṇṭa which had 18-9

18.1.2. after *o:*

to:n̥ta to dig AK 207-12

18.2. In PT *n̥* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *e*, *e:*, *o* and *o:*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *k*, *t*, *p* and *m* though
4. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

e: is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, NR, TK, CIL and MM

o: in KR, AK, IN, NR and PP

c in AK

v in AK

18.2.1. before all the vowels both short and long except *e*, *e:*, *o* and *o:*

<i>avun̥ar</i>	demons	11-4
<i>ka:n̥a:tu</i>	without seeing	17-8
<i>e:n̥i</i>	boundary	24-14
<i>un̥i:iyar</i>	to eat	36-7
<i>ka:n̥un̥ar</i>	they who will see	19-26
<i>ka:n̥u:u</i>	having seen	30-20

18.2.2. before the diphthong *ai*

an̥aitta which was set 50-13

18.2.3. before the consonants *k*, *t*, *p* and *m*

<i>pu:n̥ka</i>	let them be yoked	81-32
<i>a:n̥to:r</i>	they who ruled	69-12
<i>ka:n̥pal</i>	will see-I	77-12
<i>p:n̥mai</i>	modesty	70-14

18.2.4. before *e:*, *o:*, *c* and *v*

ka:n̥e:n̥ will not see-I PR 71-5

<i>ce:n̥o:n̥</i>	he of the high place	KR 150-1
<i>mukk̥an̥celvan̥</i>	Lord Siva	AK 181-16
<i>ka:n̥varum</i>	which will be seen	AK 116-7

18.3. In PT *n̥* occurs finally after

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:*, *u:* *o* and *o:* though
2. it occurs finally after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

a: is found to occur in PAR

i in PAR

e in PAR

u: in PAR

o: is found to occur in KR, AK, KL, TK and MM

o: in AK

18.3.1. after all the vowels both short and long except *i:*, *o* and *o:*

<i>avan̥</i>	that place	12-14
<i>na:n̥pu</i>	modesty	19-14
<i>vin̥</i>	sky	23-15
<i>pu:n̥</i>	jewel	65-6
<i>en̥</i>	counting	74-18
<i>ce:n̥</i>	distant place	22-5

18.3.2. after *a:*, *i*, *u:*, *e*, *o* and *o:*

<i>pa:n̥</i>	Panar caste	PAR VII-66
<i>tin̥</i>	strong	PAR XI-51
<i>en̥</i>	number	PAR III-43
<i>pu:n̥</i>	ornament	PAR I-28
<i>on̥</i>	bright	KR 22-5
<i>ko:n̥</i>	hostility	AK 372-15

18.4. *nn̥*

In PT *nn̥* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *nn̥* occurs medially after

1. the vowels *a*, *u* and *e* though
2. it occurs medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

t is found to occur in KL, TK and MM
o in TK

18.4.1. after the vowels *a*, *u*, and *e*

<i>kappi</i>	chaplet	21-24
<i>unna:</i>	which will not eat	31-6
<i>enni</i>	having thought	71-25

18.4.2. before *i* and *o*

<i>tippiyar</i>	they who have will	
	power, TK 666	
<i>oppatal</i>	she who has the	
	bright fore head, TK 1240	

18.5. In PT *nn* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i*, *u*, and *e:* though
2. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

i: is found to occur in KR, KL, TK and MM
e in KR, AK, KL and PP

o: in PR, AK, KL, TK, CIL and MM

ai in PR, KR, AK and PP

18.5.1. before the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i*, *u* and *e:*

<i>annal</i>	superior	12-12
<i>enna:tu</i>	without considering	52-6
<i>kappi</i>	chaplet	21-24
<i>ennum</i>	which will count	43-5
<i>kappe:</i>	eye	63-3

18.5.2. before *i:* *e*, *o:* and *ai*

<i>kappi:</i>	chaplet	KR 117-
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<i>enney</i>	oil	PP 8-107
<i>kappoi:n</i>	he who has the eye	CIL 6-20
<i>kappai</i>	of the eyes-you (sg)	PR 198-17

19.0. *t*

In PT *t* is found to occur initially and medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

19.1. In PT *t* occurs initially before

1. all the vowels short and long
2. it occurs initially before the diphthong *ai* in KL and MM

ai is found to occur in KL and MM.

19.1. 1. before all the vowels

<i>tata</i>	large,	14-12
<i>ta:m</i>	themselves,	19-25
<i>tinka!</i>	moon,	90-17
<i>ti:tu</i>	fault,	17-19
<i>tupi</i>	piece,	44-17
<i>tu:ni</i>	quiver,	45-1
<i>teral</i>	punishment,	22-3
<i>te:ral</i>	clarified juice,	12-18
<i>tol</i>	o'd,	12-15
<i>to:l</i>	leather shield,	45-16

19.1.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>taiyal</i>	girl	MM 21-152
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19.2. In PT *t* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long except *e:*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *n*, *y*, *r* and *l* though
4. it is found to occur medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

e: in PR, KR, AK and IN

v in IN, NR, PAR and GIL

19.2.1. *after all the vowels short and long except e:*

<i>atu</i>	that-it,	52-25
<i>a:tal</i>	the act of becoming,	17-3
<i>ital</i>	petals,	48-11
<i>i:tal</i>	the act of giving,	24-7
<i>utavi</i>	having given,	81-17
<i>u:tai</i>	gale,	60-11
<i>etirnta</i>	who opposed,	15-14
<i>otunki</i>	having walked,	57-5
<i>o:tal</i>	recitation,	24-6

19.2.2. *o:tal after the diphthong ai*

<i>uaitarum</i>	which will break,	88-11
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19.2.3. *after the consonants n, y, r and l*

<i>vantu</i>	having come,	12-14
<i>ceytu</i>	having done,	49-13
<i>amirtu</i>	ambrosia,	16-12
<i>va:lti</i>	will live-you,	38-16

19.2.4. *after e: and v*

<i>e:tin</i>	neighbouring,	PR 58-27
<i>avtu</i>	that-it,	NR 62-10

19.3. In PT *t* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:* and *e*
 2. the diphthong *ai* though
 3. it is found to occur medially before *i:* in some of the other OT texts
- i:* is found to occur in KR, AK, IN, KL, and TK.

19.3.1. *before all the vowels short and long except i: and e*

<i>va:ltal</i>	the act of living,	19-18
<i>ce:rntu</i>	having united	88-33

<i>anti</i>	evening	35-7
<i>ula:tu</i>	without ploughing,	13-2
<i>enaiyatu:um</i>	of what nature,	54-9
<i>ka:ante:</i>	having won,	11-25
<i>po:nto:tu</i>	with Palmyra palm	66-14
<i>unara:to:r</i>	they who will not know,	51-24

19.3.2. *before the diphthong ai*

<i>cital</i>	perishing,	15-11
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19.3.3. *before i:*

<i>cella:ti:m</i>	do not go-you,	KR 350-2
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19.4. *-tt-*

In PT *tt* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *tt* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long except *o:*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *y, r* and *l* though
4. it is found to occur medially after *o:* in some of the other OT texts.

o: is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, IN, KL PP and MM

19.4.1. *after all the vowels short and long except o:*

<i>ulakkatto:r</i>	they who lived in the world	15-24
<i>kula:ttar</i>	they who were in the group	39-2
<i>alittu</i>	having destroyed	20-19
<i>i:ttu</i>	having given	15-36
<i>turutti</i>	island	20-2
<i>pu:tta</i>	which had blossomed	13-3
<i>cetta:</i>	having thought	90-42
<i>potti</i>	having got	16-7

19.4.2. *after the diphthong ai*

<i>acaitta</i>	which was fastened	58-2
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19.4.3. *after the consonants y, r and l*

<i>tuyttal</i>	the act of enjoying	15-30
<i>ce:rtti</i>	having placed upon	29-1
<i>va:l̥tti</i>	having praised	64-14

19.4.4. *after the vowel o:*

<i>po:ttu</i>	male animal	PR 157-12
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19.5. In PT *tt* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:*, *u:*, *e* and *e:*
2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it is found to occur medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

i: is found to occur in PR and KL

u: in PR

e: in KR, IN, KL, PAR, PP, TK and MM

19.5.1. *before all the vowels short and long except i:, u:, e and e:*

<i>aruttal</i>	cutting	81-35
<i>ceruyatta:n</i>	he who was in war	51-37
<i>va:l̥tti</i>	having praised	64-14
<i>avittu</i>	having suppressed	30-15
<i>kaṭa:ttōṭu</i>	must	53-17
<i>karutto:r</i>	they who were finished	66-9

19.5.2. *before the diphthong ai*

<i>vittai</i>	name of the poet	9-7 p
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19.5.3. *before i:, u: and e:*

<i>ottl:</i>	will resemble-you	PR 56-11
<i>muttu:ru</i>	district of Muthuru	PR 24-22
<i>ya:tte:m</i>	bound-we	KR 313-4

20.0. *n*

In PT *n* is found to occur initially and medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

20.1. In PT *n* occurs initially before

1. all the vowels short and long though
2. it occurs initially before the diphthong *ai* in some of the other OT texts.

ai is found to occur in PR, AK, PAR and MM

20.1.1. *before all the vowels both short and long*

<i>nan̥ku</i>	clearly	26-4
<i>naṇku</i>	four	14-1
<i>n̥ṇam</i>	flesh	43-32
<i>ni:ṭu</i>	long	55-18
<i>num</i>	you (pl)	20-1
<i>nu:l</i>	thread,	34-3
<i>neṇcam</i>	vedas	21-1
<i>ne:r</i>	straight	21-29
<i>noṭai</i>	price	30-12
<i>no:y</i>	disease	13-27

20.1.2. *before the diphthong ai*

<i>naippa</i>	to put out	PR 23-10
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20.2 In PT *n* occurs medially after

1. the vowels *i* and *u*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *r* and *l* though
4. it occurs medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts

a is found to occur in PR and PAR

a: in PR, AR, IN and PAR

i: in PR, AK and In

u: in PR, AK and PAR

e in PR, AK, IN and PAR

e: in PR, AK, IN and PAR

o in PR, AK and PAR

o: in PR, AK and PAR

y in AK and IN

20.2.1. *after the vowels i and u*

<i>arinar</i>	reapers	19-22
<i>varunar</i>	people who come	18-3

20.2.2. *after the diphthong ai*

<i>aintu</i>	five	14-4
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20.2.3. *after the consonants r and l*

<i>a:rna</i>	eater	13-6
<i>va:lnar</i>	they who will live	37-10

20.2.4. *after a, ai, i:, u:, e, e:, o, o: and y*

<i>antaṇaṇ</i>	Brahmin	PR 200-13
<i>kaintaḷ</i>	malabar glorylily,	IN 226-2
<i>i:ntu</i>	data palm	AK 21-20
<i>ku:ntal</i>	tresses,	PR 25-14
<i>entai</i>	our father	IN 6-6
<i>e:nta</i>	to hold	PR 372-9
<i>nontu</i>	having suffered	AK 293-12
<i>po:ntai</i>	palmyra palm	PR 85-7
<i>ca:ynta</i>	which fell	AK 373-4

20.3. In PT *n* occurs medially before

1. the vowel *a* though
2. it occurs medially before some other environments in some of the other OT texts

a: is found to occur in MM

i in AK and MM

i: in AK

u in AK

e: in MM

ai in AK, IN and MM

t in TK and PAR

20.3.1. *before the vowel a*

<i>varunar</i>	people who come	18-3
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20.3.2. *before a:, i, i:, u, e:, ai and t*

<i>vina:ci</i>	unstable	MM 29-170
<i>paḷuni</i>	having ripened	AK 348-6
<i>kuḷuntir</i>	blue Indian	
	water lily	AK 59-14
<i>verṇu</i>	back	AK 65-14
<i>ane:ka</i>	many	MM 26-60
<i>nerunai</i>	yesterday	AK 71-2
<i>antapar</i>	Brahmins	TK 301

20.4. In PT *n* does not occur finally though

1. it occurs finally after *i* in some of the other OT texts

i is found to occur before *n* KR, AK, CIL

20.4.1. *finally after the vowel i*

<i>verin</i>	back	AK 167-12
<i>verin</i>	back	IN 140-1
<i>verin</i>	back	CIL 26-214

20.5. *-nn-*

In PT *-nn-* occurs medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts

In PT *nn* occurs medially after

1. the vowel *u* and *e* though
2. it occurs after the diphthong *-ai-* in some of the other OT texts

ai is found to occur in PR and AK

20.5.1. *after the vowel u and e*

<i>munni:r</i>	sea	20-2
<i>cenni:r</i>	red coloured water	28-13

20.5.2. *after the diphthong ai*

painniṇam green land PR 258-4

20.6. In PT *-nn-* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *i:* and *e* though
2. it is found to occur medially before some other environments in some of the other OT texts.

a: is found to occur in KR, AK, IN, NR, PAR and MM

i in PR, AK, IN, NR, PP and CIL

u in PR and AK

u: in KL and MM

20.6.1. *before the vowels i: and e*

cenniṭṭ red coloured water 28-13
cennel a kind of paddy 71-4

20.6.2. *before the vowels ai, i, u, and u:*

cennaṭṭ brown coloured dog KR 56-1
cenniṭṭai a posture in dancing CIL 17-17
cennuṭṭal fore head AK 265-21
cennuṭṭ red coloured thread KL 103-30

21.0. *p*

In PT *p* is found to occur initially and medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

21.1. In PT *p* occurs initially before

1. all the vowels, short and long
2. the diphthongs *ai* and *au*

In TOL also it occurs before all the consonants.

21.1.1. *before all the vowels short and long*

paṇ melody 29-8
paṇṇ the paṇṇar caste 59-3

piṭṭ elephant cow 43-5
piṭṭu greatness 50-26
pun wound 11-8
puṇṇ jewel 65-6
peṭṭai female bird 36-9
peṭṭ devil 35-9
pori scorching 58-13
poṭṭ war 11-16

21.1.2. *before the diphthongs ai and au*

paim greenish 11-17
pauṇṇaiṭṭu ocean 42-21

21.2. In PT *p* occurs medially after

1. the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i*, *u* and *u:*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *t*, *p*, *m*, *r*, *l*, *ḷ*, *r* and *ṇ* though
4. it is found to occur medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT.

i: is found to occur in PR

ai is PR and AK

o: in AK, PAR and CIL

y in AK, NR, PP and TK

ḷ in AK, NK and TK

21.2.1. *after vowels a, a:, i, u, and u:*

tapa to perish 11-25
caṭṭam bow 90-32
iḷḷip the act of removing 24-12
tarupa will give-they 59-12
yūṭṭam dead body 67-10

21.2.2. *after the diphthong ai*

aṭṭaiṭṭu to be complete 30-32

21.2.3. after the consonants *t, v, m, r, l, ɭ* and *n*

<i>ke:ɪpa</i>	to hear	70-23
<i>paŋpu</i>	nature	15-32
<i>ampu</i>	arrow	19-9
<i>ma:rpu</i>	bosom	11-17
<i>ca:ɪpu</i>	good quality	82-14
<i>aviɪpu</i>	to have affection	20-8
<i>kaɪpu</i>	chastity	16-10
<i>inɪpam</i>	pleasure	90-3

21.2.4. after *i:, o:, ai, y* and *!*

<i>i:pa</i>	will give-they	PR 136-21
<i>ko:pa:la</i>	name of one hero of one epic	CIL 15-94
<i>paipaya</i>	slowly	AK 95-1
<i>ceɪpu</i>	having done	NR 1-9
<i>a:ɪpa</i>	(who) will govern	TK 1017

21.3. In PT *p* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a, i, u, u:, o* and *o:* though
2. it is found to occur medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT

a: is found to occur in PR, AK, IN, PP, KL, TK, CIL, MM

e in AK

e: in MM

ai in PR, IN, TK and MM

21.3.1. before the vowels *a, i, u, u: o* and *o:*

<i>tarɪpa</i>	will give-they	59-12
<i>tumpi</i>	bee	67-20
<i>paŋpu</i>	nature	15-32
<i>irumpu:tu</i>	wonder	30-38
<i>cilampo:ɪu</i>	with mountain	53-6
<i>vicumpo:ɪu</i>	with sky	44 1

21.3.2. before *a:, e, e:* and *ai*

<i>ko:pa:la</i>	name of one hero of one epic	CIL 15-94
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<i>ɪlamperuñcenni</i>	king,	AK 375-11
<i>enpe:n</i>	will say-I	MM 21-131
<i>ɪɪumpai</i>	sorrow	IN 373-1

21.4. *pp*

In PT *pp* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *pp* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels except *ɪɪ* and *e:*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *r* and *y* though
4. it is found to occur medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts

ɪ: is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, IN, KL, PAR, TK and GIL

e: in PR, KR, AK, KL, PAR, PP and CIL

! in AK

r in PP

21.4.1. after all the vowels except *i:* and *e:*

<i>aɪappa</i>	to measure	24-16
<i>ka:ppa</i>	to protect	72-5
<i>kaɪappa</i>	to unsheath	19-4
<i>aɪupɪu</i>	the act of joining	63-19
<i>pu:ppa</i>	to blossom	19-21
<i>ceppa</i>	to worship	82-1
<i>oyɪum</i>	who will derive	(VR) 73-5
<i>o:ppum</i>	who will derive	12-12

21.4.2. after the diphthong *ai*

<i>akaippa</i>	to run fast	25-12
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21.4.3. after the consonants *r* and *y*

<i>a:rppu</i>	sound	21-18
<i>va:yppu</i>	chance	20-6

21.4.4. after *i*; *e*; *l* and *r*

<i>ci:ppu</i>	wooden bolt	PR 305-5
<i>ye:ppa</i>	neem	KR 67-2
<i>u:lppa</i>	to ripen	AK 273-17
<i>e:rppa</i>	to receive	PP 1-254

21.5. In PT *pp* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels except *i*ː, *u*ː, *e*, and *o*ː
2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it occurs medially before *i* in some environments also in some of the other OT texts.

*i*ː is found to occur in KL

*u*ː in PP

e in PR, IN and PP

*o*ː in PR, KR, AK, IN, NR, KL, PAR, PP, TK and CIL

21.5.1. before all the vowels except *i*ː, *u*ː, *e* and *o*ː

<i>alaippa</i>	to make noise	52-20
<i>akappa</i>	name of a Fort	22-26
<i>parappi</i>	having made to spread	21-21
<i>aṭuppu</i>	the act of joining	63-19
<i>uraippe:n</i>	will say-I	73-17
<i>a:rppotu</i>	with sound	44-1

21.5.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>kuppai</i>	corn heap	62-15
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21.5.3. before *i*; *u*ː, *e*, and *o*ː

<i>ceppi:man</i>	tell,	KL 93-10
<i>koppu:l</i>	navel	PP 2-37
<i>talaippeytu</i>	having mixed	PR 343-8
<i>ka:ppo:r</i>	they who will protect	AK 389-11

22.0. *m*

In PT *m* is found to occur initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other OT texts.

22.1. In PT *m* occurs initially before

1. all the vowels short and long
2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it occurs initially before the diphthong *au* in some of the other OT texts.

au is found to occur in KL and PAR

22.1.1. before all the vowels short and long

<i>maṛu</i>	stain	65-1
<i>ma:ru</i>	strength	34-9
<i>miṭal</i>	strength	13-18
<i>mi:n</i>	star	64-12
<i>muracu</i>	drum	12-7
<i>mu:ri</i>	strength	45-16
<i>mel</i>	soft	40-23
<i>me:l</i>	upon	11-19
<i>moli</i>	speaking	37-2
<i>mo:ku:r</i>	name of a place	44-14

22.1.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>maintar</i>	warriors	34-9
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22.1.3. before the diphthong *au*

<i>mauval</i>	wild jasmine	PAR XII-77
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22.2. In PT *m* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long except *i*ː and *o*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *n*, *y* and *ṇ* though
4. it occurs medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

*i*ː is found to occur in KL, TK, CIL and MM

o in KR, AK, KL, PAR, TK and CIL

r in KR, AK, NR, PAR, PP, TK and CIL

l in AR

ḷ in CIL

22.2.1. after all the vowels short and long except *i*: and *o*

<i>ampu</i>	arrow	22-29
<i>a:mpal</i>	water lily	13-6
<i>imil</i>	sounding	13-7
<i>umpal</i>	descendent	22-11
<i>tu:mpu</i>	bamboo tube	81-21
<i>emar</i>	they who (were) of us	20-21
<i>e:mam</i>	safety	11-4
<i>o:mpal</i>	the act of protecting	34-12

22.2.2. after the diphthong *ai*

<i>noṭaimai</i>	price	68-11
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22.2.3. after the consonants *ṇ*, *y* and *ṇ*

<i>a:ṇmai</i>	courage	14-6
<i>va:ymai</i>	truth	70-12
<i>inmai</i>	nothingness	68-15

22.2.4. after *i*:, *o*, *r*, *l* and *ḷ*

<i>ti:mai</i>	evil	TK 143
<i>kompū</i>	branch of the tree	KR 66-4
<i>ku:rmai</i>	sharpness	PP 6-63
<i>cuḷalmaram</i>	winding screen	AK 393-10
<i>ikaḷmin</i>	reproach-you	CIL 30-191

22.3. In PT *m* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *i*:, *u*: and *e*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonant *p* though
4. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other texts.

i: is found to occur in CIL

u: in PR, AK, IN, KL, PAR and PP

e in MM

y in KR and AK

22.3.1. before all the vowels short and long except *i*:, *u*: and *e*

<i>emar</i>	they who (were) of us	20-21
<i>ko:ma:ṇ</i>	chief	67-23
<i>imil</i>	sounding	13-7
<i>urumu</i>	thunder	30-42
<i>varume:</i>	will give	26-5
<i>na:ṛṛamoṭu</i>	fragrance	21-14
<i>cenmo:</i>	will go-you	87-1

22.3.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>amaiiya</i>	which was set	50-13
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22.3.3. before the consonant *p*

<i>ampu</i>	arrow	19-9
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22.3.4. before *i*:, *u*:, *e* and *y*

<i>to:ḷimī:r</i>	you friends	CIL 29-10-4
<i>koṇmu:</i>	cloud	PR 35-17
<i>tu:meṇcerkkai</i>	cleaned soft bed	MM 7-112
<i>alamvarum</i>	which will whirl	KR 148-4

22.4. In PT *m* occurs finally after

1. all the vowels short and long except *i*:, *o* and *o*:
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonant *ṇ* though
4. it occurs finally after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

i is found to occur in PR, AK, KL and NR

o in TK

o: in KR, AK, IN, NR, TK and MM

ṇ in AK and KL

y in AK, NR and PP

r in KR, AK, NR, KL, PAR and PP

ḷ in IN

22.4.1. after all the vowels short and long except *i*, *o* and *o:*

<i>akam</i>	inside	22-15
<i>ya:m</i>	we	49-1
<i>ti:m</i>	sweet	19-23
<i>akarrum</i>	who will cause to vanish	22-33
<i>pu:m</i>	flower	11-12
<i>em</i>	our	20-1
<i>alle:m</i>	not-we	58-7

22.4.2. after the diphthong *ai*

<i>aim</i>	five	14-5
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22.4.3. after the consonant *n*

<i>po:nm</i>	will resemble	51-23
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22.4.4. after *i*, *o*, *o:*, *n*, *y*, *r* and *l*

<i>im</i>	onomatopoetic	PR 367-16
<i>po:om</i>	will go	TK 1070
<i>no:m</i>	will grieve	KR 131-4
<i>ko:nm</i>	will accept-you	AK 259-12
<i>te:ym</i>	will dwindle	NR 68-3
<i>i:rm</i>	wetness	PAR VI-19
<i>kalilm</i>	will be troubled	IN 273-4

22.5. *mm*

In PT *mm* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *mm* occurs medially after

1. the vowels *a* and *e*
2. the consonant *y* though
3. it occurs medially after some of the other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

i is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, NR, KL, TK and CIL

u in PR, AK, TK and CIL

o in KR, NR, PAR, PP and CIL

ai in KR, TK and AK

22.5.1. after the vowels *a* and *e*

<i>amma</i>	oh! mother	26-7
<i>cemmai</i>	fairness	90-11

22.5.2. after the consonant *y*

<i>ceymma:r</i>	will do-they	54-14
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22.5.3. after *i*, *u*, *o* and *ai*

<i>immai</i>	this birth	PR 134-1
<i>nummø:r</i>	they of you	AK 286-15
<i>komma</i>	bigness	PP 7-69
<i>katmmai</i>	widowhood	KR 69-2

22.6. In PT *mm* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i* and *e*
2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it occurs medially before some other environments in some of the other OT texts.

i: is found to occur in PR

u in NR, PAR and TK

e: in PAR

o in IN, NR, TK and CIL

o: in AK, IN and CIL

22.6.1. before the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i* and *e*

<i>amma</i>		26-7
<i>ceymma:r</i>	will do-they	54-14
<i>vammīn</i>	will come-you (PI)	49-1
<i>tanmēga</i>	them	48-7

22.6.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>cemmai</i>	fairness	90-11
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22.6.3. before *i:*, *u*, *e*, *o* and *o:*

<i>ceymmi:n</i>		PR 60-2
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<i>emmuṭaṇ</i>	with us	NR 220-3
<i>aḷikkumme:</i>	will bestow-it	PAR XVI-15
<i>tammoṭu</i>	with them	CIL 4-15
<i>tammo:ṇ</i>	chief	IN 475-5

23.0. *y*

In PT *y* is found to occur initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other OT texts.

23.1. In PT *y* occurs initially before

1. the vowels *a*, *a:* and *u:* though
 2. it occurs initially before *o:* in some of the other OT texts
- o:* is found to occur in CIL and MM

23.1.1. before the vowels *a*, *a:* and *u:*

<i>yavaṇar</i>	Greeks	2-8P
<i>ya:l</i>	lute	41-2
<i>yo:pam</i>	dead body	67-10

23.1.2. before *o:*

<i>yo:caṇai</i>	a linear measure	CIL 25-15
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23.2. In PT *y* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long
2. the diphthong *ai*

23.2.1. after all vowels short and long

<i>kayam</i>	tank	42-2
<i>a:yam</i>	gathering	30-19
<i>ariyal</i>	fermented liquor	27-5
<i>i:ya:</i>	who will not give	19-18
<i>uyir</i>	life	15-35
<i>mu:ya</i>	to be closed	42-20
<i>ṛyṭi</i>	having experienced	15-30
<i>e:ya</i>	which commanded	41-23
<i>poykai</i>	tank	27-9
<i>ko:ṇil</i>	palace	5-2P

23.2.2. after the diphthong *ai*

<i>atyam</i>	doubt	21-16
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23.3. In PT *y* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:* and *e*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *k*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m* and *v* though
4. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

i: is found to occur in KR, AK and GIL
e in AK

c in KL

23.3.1. before all the vowels short and long except *i:* and *e*

<i>ariyal</i>	fermented liquor	27-5
<i>i:ya:</i>	who will not give	19-18
<i>uyir</i>	life	15-35
<i>atiyum</i>	will perish	67-21
<i>ataiyu:u</i>	having reached	81-4
<i>anaiye:m</i>	similar-we	63-14
<i>no:yoṭu</i>	with disease	13-27
<i>periyo:r</i>	they who were eminent	73-3

23.3.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>iyaintu</i>	which had got	50-24
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23.3.3. before the consonants *k*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m* and *v*

<i>poykai</i>	tank	27-9
<i>ceytu</i>	having done	49-13
<i>a:yntu</i>	having examined	69-8
<i>va:yppu</i>	chance	20-6
<i>va:ymai</i>	truth	70-12
<i>teyvam</i>	God	82-1

23.3.4. before *i:*, *e* and *c*

<i>uṭaiyi:r</i>	you who have	KK 206-5
<i>uṭayen</i>	have-I	AK 376-1

a:ycciyar women of cowherd
caste KL 109-32

23.4. In PT *y* occurs finally after

1. all the vowels short and long except *a*,
i and *i:* though

2. it occurs finally after *a* in PAR

a is found to occur in PAR

23.4.1. after all the vowels short and long except *a*,
i and *i:*

<i>a:y</i>	beautiful	90-36
<i>kuy</i>	seasoning	21-11
<i>tu:uy</i>	having offered	17-6
<i>cey</i>	doing	22-12
<i>ce:y</i>	distance	73-8
<i>koy</i>	cropping	19-22
<i>to:y</i>	touching	17-13

23.4.2. after *a*

tula:ay sacred basil PAR IV-58

23.5. *yy*

In PT *yy* is found to occur only medially and
this is also the case with other OT texts

In PT *yy* occurs medially after

1. the vowels *u*, *e* and *o*

23.5.1. after the vowels *u*, *e* and *o*

<i>uyyum</i>	will escape	16-14
<i>ceyyu!</i>	poetry	5-P
<i>koyyum</i>	will pluck	29-2

In PT *yy* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a*, *a:* and *u* though
2. it occurs medially before some other
environments also in some of the other
OT texts.

i is found to occur in AK, NR, KL, PAR
and TK

e: in KR, AK and PP

o in PAR

o: in AK, IN, PAR and CIL

ai in AK and PAR

23.5.1. before the vowels *a*, *a:* and *u*

<i>poyyalan</i>	will not lie-he	18-12
<i>po:yya:</i>	who will not fail	70-12
<i>uyyum</i>	will escape	16-14

23.5.2. before the vowels *i*, *e:*, *o*, *o:* and *ai*

<i>toyyil</i>	saudal drawing	NR 225-7
<i>uyye:n</i>	will not live-I	KR 108-5
<i>meyyo:tu</i>	with body	PAR IV-81
<i>ceyyo:!</i>	fair woman	IN 441-1
<i>veyyai</i>	of the desire-you	AK 112-10

24.0. *r*

In PT *r* occurs medially and finally only and
this is also the case with other OT texts.

24.1. In PT *r* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long

24.1.1. after all the vowels short and long

<i>aracar</i>	kings	43-8
<i>a:ral</i>	a kind of fish	13-1
<i>irap:tu</i>	two	21-14
<i>i:ram</i>	affection	90-14
<i>uru</i>	fear	43-24
<i>u:ral</i>	itching sensation	52-17
<i>eri</i>	fire	48-10
<i>e:ra:lar</i>	they who have plough share	76-11
<i>oru</i>	one	34-1
<i>po:ro:ye:</i>	you (sg) of the war	63-12

24.2. In PT *r* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *e*

2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *k, n, t, p* and *v* though
4. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

c is found to occur in KR, AK, IN, NR, PP and TK

m in AK and PP

24.2.1. *before all the vowels short and long except e*

<i>araṇam</i>	protection	17-8
<i>ira:</i>	which will not be	43-34
<i>aritu</i>	rarely	19-12
<i>iri:ya</i>	which was given	90-23
<i>porunaṇ</i>	king	67-22
<i>oru:upa</i>	will flee-they	33-12
<i>va:re:n</i>	will not come-I	61-11
<i>makaṣiroṭu</i>	with women	13-21
<i>ira:liyarō:</i>	let them not stay	40-2

24.2.2. *before the diphthong ai*

<i>araicu</i>	sovereign	34-11
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24.2.3. *before the consonants k, n, t, p and v*

<i>nukarkeṁ</i>	will enjoy-we	38-13
<i>a:rna</i>	eaters	13-6
<i>nukartal</i>	the act of enjoying	12-25
<i>ati:pu</i>	to tremble	31-29
<i>atirvu</i>	trembling	81-8

24.2.4. *before c and m*

<i>puṇarcci</i>	association	IN 407-3
<i>o:ma:r</i>	they who will know	AK 171-9

24.3. In PT *r* occur finally after

1. all the vowels short and long except *u, e, o* though
2. it occurs finally after *o* in some of the other OT texts.

o is found to occur in AK and PAR

23.3.1. *after all the vowels short and long except e and o*

<i>amar</i>	battle	14-8
<i>ka:r</i>	black	13-14
<i>ukir</i>	nail	12-4
<i>i:r</i>	two	74-18
<i>u:r</i>	village	15-18
<i>te:r</i>	chariot	26-1
<i>po:r</i>	war	11-16

24.3.2. *after o*

<i>or</i>	one	AK 257-4
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25.0. *l*

In PT *l* is found to occur medially and finally only and this is also the case with the other OT texts except MM in which *l* occurs initially before the vowel *o*:

<i>lo:kattu</i>	of the world	MM 3-100
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25.1. In PT *l* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:* though
2. it occurs medially after *i:* in some of the other OT texts.

i: is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, IN, KL, PAR, TK, CIL and MM

25.1.1. *after all the vowels both short and long except i:*

<i>akala</i>	to vanish	31-11
<i>ka:lam</i>	season	30-14
<i>cila</i>	which were a few	22-13
<i>pulam</i>	place	15-13
<i>nu:la:</i>	which was not woven	12-21
<i>celva</i>	lord	38-12
<i>ve:li</i>	fence	26-10

<i>polam</i>	gold	14-18
<i>po:lum</i>	which will resemble	36-8

25.1.2. *after the vowel i:*

<i>pi:l</i>	peacock's feather	PR 13-10
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25.2. In PT *l* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:*, *u:*, *e* and *e:*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *k*, *c*, *p* and *v* though
4. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

i: is found to occur in IN, PP and MM

u: in KR and AK

e in KR and AK

e: in TK

y in PP

25.2.1. *before all the vowels short and long except i:, u: e and e:*

<i>kapilam</i>	name of a poet	85-13
<i>nila:</i>	brighthees	31-11
<i>elili</i>	cloud	18-10
<i>kaluli</i>	puddle	50-5
<i>neytalotu</i>	white Indian water lily	71-2
<i>nilalo:r</i>	they of the shade	68-20

25.2.2. *before the diphthong ai*

<i>alaitta</i>	which caused suffering	70-4
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25.2.3. *before k, c, p and v*

<i>alkul</i>	pudendum muliebre	18-3
<i>valci</i>	food	75-12
<i>calpu</i>	good quality	82-14
<i>putalvar</i>	sons	70-21

25.2.4. *before i:, u:, e, e: and y*

<i>eyali:r</i>	of the nature-you	PP 8-145
<i>vayalu:r</i>	name of a place	AK 97-13
<i>ni:yaleṇ</i>	will not part-I	KR 36-3
<i>ele:n</i>	I(who) do not have anything	TK 1226
<i>kalyatta</i>	which was covered	PP 4-133

25.3. In PT *l* occurs finally after

1. all the vowels short and long

25.3.1. *after all the vowels short and long*

<i>cemmal</i>	faded flower	30-26
<i>cemma:l</i>	chief voc	37-5
<i>eyil</i>	rampart	29-13
<i>ni:l</i>	blue colour (VR)	11-9
<i>elkul</i>	pudendum muliebre	18-5
<i>nu:l</i>	thread	34-3
<i>nel</i>	grain of paddy	12-17
<i>ve:l</i>	spear	26-16
<i>tol</i>	old	12-15
<i>po:l</i>	resembling	43-3

25.4. *-ll-*

In PT *ll* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *ll* occurs medially after

1. all the short vowels only

25.4.1. *after all the short vowels*

<i>kalla:</i>	who (will) not study	48-7
<i>illai</i>	not exist	45-18
<i>mullai</i>	Arabian Jasmine	66-16
<i>elli</i>	night	19-11
<i>colli</i>	having said	19-25

25.5. In PT *ll* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:*, *u:*, *e* and *o*

2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it occurs after some other environment
also in some of the other OT texts

i: is found to occur in AK

u: in PR and AK

e in KR, AK, IN, TK and MM

25.5.1. *before all the vowels both short and long except i:, u:, e and o*

<i>allan</i>	not he	56-3
<i>kalla:</i>	who will not study	48-7
<i>elli</i>	night	19-11
<i>kollupu</i>	to murder	16-5
<i>alle:n</i>	not-I	74-23
<i>illo:r</i>	those who have nothing	86-6

25.5.2. *before the diphthong -ai-*

<i>illai</i>	not exist	45-18
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25.5.3. *before i:, u: and e*

<i>nalli:r</i>	you (pl) of good	AK 110-10
<i>nullu:r</i>	the town Nallur	PR 144-14
<i>allen</i>	not-I	IN 280-5

26.0. *v*

In PT *v* is found to occur initially, medially and finally and this is also the case with other OT texts.

26.1. In PT *v* occurs initially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *u*, *u:*, *o* and *o:*
2. the diphthong *ai* and *au*

26.1.1. *before the vowels a, a:, i i: e und e:*

<i>va:u</i>	giving	38-11
<i>va:tai</i>	northwind	61-2
<i>vin</i>	sky	23-15

<i>vi:ru</i>	glory	74-21
<i>veyil</i>	heat	20-6
<i>ve:l</i>	spear	22-16

26.1.2. *before the diphthong ai and au*

<i>vaikal</i>	morning	71-16
<i>vauvi</i>	having captured	90-22

26.2. In PT *v* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long except *o*
2. the diphthong *ai* and *au*
3. the consonants *y*, *r*, *l*, *l* and *!* though
4. it occurs medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

is found to occur in AK and PAR

m in AK

n in AK

26.2.1. *after all the vowels short and long except o*

<i>avun:ar</i>	demons	11-4
<i>a:va:nam</i>	bazaar	58-10
<i>ariyai</i>	woman	19-14
<i>ni:viya</i>	which was smeared	89-16
<i>uva:</i>	elephant of sixty years old	79-13
<i>ku:val</i>	pit	51-4
<i>evan</i>	why	50-22
<i>ce:val</i>	male eagle	35-5
<i>ko:valar</i>	cowherds	21-20

26.2.2 *after the diphthong ai and au*

<i>acaivu</i>	instability	69-11
<i>vauvi</i>	having captured	90-22

26.2.3. *after the consonants y, r, l, l and !*

<i>teyvam</i>	God	51-13
<i>atirvu</i>	trembling	81-8
<i>celya</i>	Lord	38-12
<i>makilvu</i>	court	12-25
<i>ke:l!</i>	vedhas	21-1

25.2.4. after the consonants *n*, *m* and *ṇ*

<i>kaṇṇarum</i>	which will be seen	AK 116-7
<i>vaṇṇam vaṭṭi</i>	sky lark	AK 67-2
<i>ṭittanveṭṭan</i>	Chola king	AK 226-14

26.3. In PT *v* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *i*:, *u*:, *e* and *o*
2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

i is found to occur in AK, IN, CIL and MM

u in AK

e in AK

o in CIL

26.3.1. before the vowels *a*, *ai*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*:

<i>kavaṭu</i>	forked branch	21-1
<i>uva:</i>	elephant of sixty years old	78-13
<i>aruvi</i>	water falls	11-22
<i>avun̄ar</i>	demons	11-4
<i>ko:ve:</i>	chief	21-23
<i>maṭavo:r</i>	theywho (were) foolish	71-25

26.3.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>arivaiyar</i>	woman	68-19
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26.3.3. before the vowels *i*:, *u*:, *e* and *o*

<i>maṭavir</i>	woman	AK 48-18
<i>paravur</i>	name of a place	AK 96-14
<i>puparkuven</i>	will join-1	AK 268-13
<i>ka:voṭu</i>	pleasure grove	CIL 11-89

26.4. In PT *v* occurs finally after

1. the vowel *e* though

2. it occurs finally after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

a is found to occur in KR, AK, PAR and TK

i in PAR and TK

e in PR

26.4.1. after the vowel *e*

<i>ṭev</i>	enemy	52-8
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26.4.2. after the vowels *a*, *i* and *e*:

<i>ay</i>	that/they	AK 327-9
<i>iv</i>	this	TK 392-
<i>ce:v</i>	reddish	PR 125-12

26.5. *vv*

In PT *vv* is found to occur medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *vv* occurs medially after

1. the vowels *a* and *e* though
2. it occurs medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

i is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, NR, KL and TK

o in PR, KR, IN, NR, KL, PAR, TK, CIL and MM

26.5.1. after the vowels *a* and *e*

<i>avvari</i>	the lines which are	
	beautiful	68-18
<i>cevv [ai]</i>	red hair	38-7

26.5.2. after the vowels *i* and *o*

<i>ivvali</i>	this place	KR 144-4
<i>ovva:</i>	that which will	
	not resemble	PR 167-9

26.6. In PT *ɥ* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a*, *a:*, *u* and *u:* though
2. it occurs medially before some other environments in some of the other OT texts

i is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, KL, TK, CIL and PP

t: in AK, NR and PP

e in PR, KR, AK, NR, KL, PAR, PP and TK

ai in PR, KR, AK, IN, KL, PP, TK, CIL and MM

26.6.1. before the vowels *a*, *a:*, *u* and *u:*

<i>teɣɣar</i>	enemies	31-32
<i>ceɣɣa:y</i>	red mouth	11-7
<i>ceɣɣu!ai</i>	red hair	38-7
<i>ceɣɣu:n</i>	red flesh	55-7

26.6.2. before *i*, *i:*, *e*, *e:* and *ai*

<i>ceɣɣiɣan</i>	he who (has) the fairness	CIL 8-59
<i>ceɣɣi:</i>	that which is red	NR 222-1
<i>tavɣɣa</i>	onomatopoeic word	KR 356-4
<i>kavɣa!</i>	forest	IN 369-5

27.0. *l*

In PT *l* is found to occur medially and finally only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

27.1. In PT *l* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long

27.1.1. after all the vowels short and long

<i>akali</i>	moat	33-9
<i>ta.li</i>	pot	44-22
<i>avila</i>	to fade	50-21
<i>vi:la</i>	to fall	12-1
<i>uluta</i>	which ploughed	75-11

<i>cu:la:tu</i>	without consulting	72-2
<i>elil</i>	beauty	16-3
<i>ve:lattu</i>	elephant	30-11
<i>kolu</i>	fatness	44-17
<i>po:lnu</i>	having cut, across	12-16

27.2. In PT *l* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *e* and *o*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *k*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *v* and *ɣ* though
4. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts

c is found to occur in KR, PAR, PP, TK and CIL

m in IN

27.2.1. before all the vowels short and long except *e* and *o*

<i>avila</i>	to fade	50-21
<i>cu:la:tu</i>	without consulting	72-2
<i>elil</i>	beauty	16-3
<i>kel:li</i>	having been fitted	63-2
<i>alu:ka</i>	to suffer	51-34
<i>tal:u:u</i>	embracing	52-14
<i>puka:le:</i>	fame	79-19
<i>puka:lo:ye:</i>	you who had the fame	90-40

27.2.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>alaippa</i>	to cry out	79-13
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27.2.3. before the consonants *k*, *t*, *n*, *p* and *v*

<i>va:lka</i>	let it live	20-5
<i>va:liti</i>	will live-you (sg)	38-16
<i>nika:lnu</i>	having happened	31-35
<i>va:lɣar</i>	they who will live	37-10
<i>avilpu</i>	to have affection	20-8
<i>maki:ɣu</i>	court	12-25

27.2.4. *before e and m*

<i>eu:lcci</i>	deliberation	KR 73-5
<i>kali:m</i>	will be troubled	IN 273-4

27.3. In PT *!* occurs finally after

1. all the vowels short and long except *u, e, e:* and *o* though
2. it occurs finally after *u* and *e:* in some of the other OT texts

u is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, IN and PP

e: in PR, KR, AK, IN, NR, KL, PAR, PP and CIL

27.3.1. *after all the vowels short and long except u, e, e: and o*

<i>katal</i>	fast	25-12
<i>va:l</i>	having	38-11
<i>imil</i>	sounding	13-7
<i>vi:l</i>	coming	43-5
<i>ku:l</i>	wealth	90-45
<i>po:l</i>	tender palmyrah leaf	67-13

27.3.2. *after u and e:*

<i>kalul</i>	shining forth	KR 143-7
<i>e:l</i>	seven	KL 9-18

28.0. *!*

In PT *!* is found to occur medially and finally only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

28.1. In PT *!* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:* and *o:* though
2. it occurs medially after some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

i: is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, KL, PAR, PP, TK and CIL

o: in PR, KR, AK, IN, KL, PAR, PP, TK and CIL

28.1.1. *after all the vowels short and long except i: and o:*

<i>alikkum</i>	which will give	65-16
<i>ta:le:</i>	foot	68-20
<i>vi:li</i>	sound	27-7
<i>aru:li</i>	having been benevolent	37-3
<i>ku:liyar</i>	warriors	19-1
<i>te:likuvar</i>	will be clear-they	73-15
<i>ve:liir</i>	chieftains	30-30
<i>oli</i>	brightness	64-12

28.1.2. *before i: and o:*

<i>mi:li</i>	strength	AK 381-2
<i>to:li</i>	she who has the shoulder	CIL 10-63

28.2. In PT *!* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *u:*, *e* and *o:*
2. diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *k* and *v* though
4. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts.

e: is found to occur in KR, AK and TK

o: in KR, AK, KL, PAR, PP and CIL

i in PAR

p in KR, IN, NR, KL, PAR, PP, TK, GIL and MM

28.2.1. *before all the vowels short and long except u:, e and o:*

<i>ku:lampu</i>	hoof	65-1
<i>ke:la:</i>	who (will) not accept	70-13

<i>aruḷi</i>	having been benevolent	37-3
<i>koḷi:i</i>	having worn	12-21
<i>ukaḷum</i>	which will loiter	23-21
<i>ta:ḷ</i>	foot	68-20
<i>uraiyuḷoṭu</i>	the act of residing	89-15

28.2.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>iḷaiya</i>	young	12-11
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28.2.3. before the consonants *k* and *v*

<i>koḷkai</i>	chastity	15-29
<i>ke:ḷvi</i>	vedhas	21-1

28.2.4. before *e*, *o*:, *t* and *p*

<i>uḷen</i>	am-I	KR 125-2
<i>to:ḷo:y</i>	you who have the shoulder	KR 204-3
<i>maḷtoṭum</i>	daily	PAR IX-85
<i>vaḷpu</i>	bridle	IN 486-4

28.3. In PT *ḷ* occurs finally

1. after all the vowels short and long except *i* and *u*: though
2. it occurs finally after *u*: in some of the other texts

u: is found to occur in KL and PAR

28.3.1. after all the vowels short and long except *i* and *u*:

<i>tukaḷ</i>	particle of dust	20-6
<i>ta:ḷ</i>	foot	29-4
<i>ni:ḷ</i>	long	36-11
<i>muḷ</i>	thorn	33-8
<i>teḷ</i>	clear	27-7
<i>ke:ḷ</i>	friend	44-11
<i>oḷ</i>	bright	13-21
<i>to:ḷ</i>	shoulder	19-8

28.3.2. after *u*:

<i>cu:ḷ</i>	vow	KL 41-20
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28.4. *ḷḷ*

In PT *ḷḷ* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *ḷḷ* occurs medially after

1. the vowels *a*, *u* and *o* though
2. it occurs medially after some other environments also and in some of the other OT texts

i is found to occur in PR, KR, AK, IN KL and CIL

e in PR, KR, AK, IN, NR, PP, TK, CIL and MM

28.4.1. after the vowels *a*, *u* and *o*

<i>aḷḷai</i>	mud	27-12
<i>puḷḷai</i>	spot	36-8
<i>koḷḷa:</i>	who will not have	48-6

28.4.2. after *t* and *e*

<i>kiḷḷai</i>	parrot	IN 281-2
<i>veḷḷi</i>	venus	PR 35-7

28.5. In PT *ḷḷ* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i*, *u* and *e*:
2. diphthong *ai* though
3. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts

i: is found to occur in PAR and MM

u: in TK

e: in TK

o in PAR and TK

o: in KL and MM

28.5.1. before the vowels *a*, *a:*, *i*, *u* and *e*:

<i>a!lal</i>	mud	27-12
<i>kə!la:</i>	who (will) not have	48-6
<i>u!li</i>	having thought	90-54
<i>u!luvar</i>	thinkers	51-24
<i>ka!le:</i>	fermented liquor	12-18

28.5.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>kol!ai</i>	plunder	19-1
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28.5.3. before *i:*, *u:*, *e*, *o* and *o:*

<i>u!li:tu</i>	that which is within	PAR II-12
<i>u!lu:r</i>	in the town	TK 216
<i>pol!ena</i>	all of a sudden	TK 487
<i>u!lorri</i>	having known	TK 927
<i>u!lo:r</i>	those two who were	MM 6-29

29.0. *r*

In PT *r* occurs medially only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

29.1. In PT *r* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long though
2. it occurs after *n* in some of the other OT texts

n is found to occur in IN, NR, KL and TK

29.1.1. after all the vowels short and long

<i>aru</i>	without	15-10
<i>a ru</i>	path	13-22
<i>irai</i>	staying	30-4
<i>ci:ri</i>	having become furious	63-10
<i>uru</i>	plenty	24-20
<i>u:ziya</i>	which sprang	22-13
<i>eri</i>	sounding	11-14
<i>e:ri</i>	having climbed	27-6
<i>porai</i>	hillock	74-7
<i>co:ru</i>	cooked rice	12-17

29.1.2. after *n*

<i>kunran</i>	hillock	TK 898
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29.2. In PT *r* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *e*
2. the diphthong *-ai*
3. the consonants *k*, *c*, and *p*

29.2.1. before all the vowels short and long except *e*

<i>karanku</i>	roaring	58-13
<i>ara:a</i>	which will not fade	23-25
<i>ci:ri:nai</i>	got fury-you	23-31
<i>ni:ri:i</i>	having established	20-14
<i>co:ru</i>	cooked rice	12-17
<i>peru:um</i>	who will receive	21-22
<i>ku:re:n</i>	will not say-I	61-11
<i>ka!iro:tu</i>	with male elephant	83-3
<i>ca:nro:r</i>	noble men	14-12

29.2.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>arainar</i>	reapers	19-22
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29.2.3. before the consonants *k*, *c*, *p*

<i>narku</i>	clearly	26-4
<i>murarci</i>	rope	3-16
<i>karpu</i>	chastity	16-10

29.3. *rr*

In PT *rr* occurs medially only and this is also the case with the other OT texts.

In PT *rr* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long

29.3.1. after all the vowels short and long

<i>iyarriya</i>	which was made of	17-5
<i>na:rram</i>	fragrance	21-14
<i>tirri</i>	meat	18-2
<i>ci:rram</i>	fury	15-2

<i>urru</i>	having happened	26-6
<i>ku:rram</i>	the God of death	51-35
<i>peru</i>	having got	40-41
<i>e:rrumin</i>	will mount-you	18-2
<i>korra</i>	victory	62-9
<i>po:rr</i>	having learned	21-2

29.4. In PT *rr* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:*, *e*, *u*: though
2. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of the other OT texts

u: is found to occur in MM

e in TK and MM

ai in IN

29.4.1. before all the vowels short and long except *i:*, *u:*, *e*, *e:*

<i>ch:rram</i>	fury	15-2
<i>ma:rra:r</i>	enemies	64-13
<i>tirri</i>	meat	18-2
<i>e:rrumin</i>	will mount-you, (pl)	18-2
<i>kalirro:u</i>	with male elephant	83-3
<i>cerro:r</i>	they who offered	82-12

29.4.2. before *u:*, *e*, *ai*

<i>no:rru:n</i>	fasting	MM	18-122
<i>terrenka</i>	view (it) clearly you	TK	581
<i>e:rrai</i>	male animal	IN	216-1

30.0. *n*

In PT *n* is found to occur medially and finally only and this is also the case with other OT texts.

30.1. IN PT *n* occurs medially after

1. all the vowels short and long

30.1.1. after all the vowels short and long

<i>akanru</i>	having widened	72-12
<i>a:na:n</i>	(will) not contend	47-1
<i>nalkinai</i>	gave-you	53-3
<i>i:nra</i>	who gave birth	20-27
<i>kunram</i>	mountain	28-8
<i>u:nam</i>	block of wood used by butchers	67-17
<i>ce:nmo:</i>	will go-you	87-1
<i>e:nam</i>	pig	16-6
<i>onru</i>	one	15-29
<i>to:nri</i>	having risen	22-32

30.2. In PT *n* occurs medially before

1. all the vowels short and long except *i:*, *u:* and *o*
2. the diphthong *ai*
3. the consonants *k*, *p*, *m* and *r* though
4. it occurs medially before some other environments in some of the other OT texts

i: is found to occur in KR, TK and MM

u: in IN and TK

v in AK

30.2.1. before all the vowels both short and long except *i:*, *u:* and *o*

<i>u:nam</i>	block of wood used by butchers	67-17
<i>a:na:m</i>	will not contend-he	47-1
<i>panikkum</i>	which will tremble	12-8
<i>varinam</i>	if came	14-10
<i>cettanen</i>	thought-I	86-4
<i>ilane:</i>	not-I	77-7
<i>u:arricino:r</i>	they who were enraged	PT 72-16

30.2.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>anaittu</i>	that much	20-6
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30.2.3. before the consonants *k, p, m* and *r*

<i>nanku</i>	clearly	72-7
<i>enpam</i>	pleasure	90-3
<i>cenmo:</i>	will go-you	87-1
<i>kunram</i>	mountain	28-8

30.2.4. before *i:, u:* and *v*

<i>a:ni:r</i>	did-you (pl)	KR 178-4
<i>te:nu:r</i>	name of a place	IN 54-3
<i>nannanve:n</i>	name of a chieftain	AK 97-12

30.3. In PT *n* occurs finally after

1. all the vowels short and long

30.3.1. after all the vowels short and long

<i>tan</i>	oneself	41-9
<i>ta:n</i>	oneself	40-19
<i>a:umin</i>	cook-you	18-1
<i>mi:n</i>	star	64-12
<i>mun</i>	before	14-20
<i>u:n</i>	flesh	12-17
<i>kanjanen</i>	saw-I	76-9
<i>uraippe:n</i>	will say-I	73-17
<i>pon</i>	gold	15-19
<i>uyarnto:n</i>	he who was exalted	30-35

30.4. *nn*

In PT *nn* is found to occur only medially and this is also the case with other OT texts.

In PT *nn* occurs medially after

1. all the short vowels only

30.4.1. after all the short vowels

<i>anno:r</i>	they who (were) similar	42-7
<i>inna:r</i>	those who were not pleasant	68-8
<i>unnam</i>	a kind of tree	40-17
<i>cenni</i>	head	27-4
<i>onna:r</i>	they who will not agree	20-10

30.5. In PT *nn* occurs medially before

1. the vowels *a, a:, i, u, e:* and *o*
2. the diphthong *ai* though
3. it occurs medially before some other environments also in some of other OT texts.

i is found to occur in MM

u: in PP and MM

o: in KR, IN, PAR, PP, CIL and MM

30.5.1. before the vowels *a, a:, i, u, e:* and *o*

<i>unnam</i>	a kind of tree	40-17
<i>onna:r</i>	they who will not agree	20-10
<i>cenni</i>	head	27-4
<i>minnu</i>	lightning	24-1
<i>ninne:</i>	you (sg)	12-25
<i>ninnofu</i>	with you	42-19

30.5.2. before the diphthong *ai*

<i>punnai</i>	mast wood	30-3
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30.5.3. before *i:, u:* and *o:*

<i>nanni:r</i>	good water	MM 2-45
<i>tinnu:u</i>	having eaten	PP 6-62
<i>anno:l</i>	she who is similar	IN 177-4

30.1 Consonant Clusters

In OT, we find both two consonant clusters and three consonant clusters. In the outset itself it must be mentioned that in OT no consonant cluster occurs either initially or finally and they occur only medially,

TOL speaks of double consonant clusters from Cu. 23-30 of Eluttu. In Cu. 30 he says that all consonants except *r* and *l* can be geminated and this is found to be hundred percent true in OT texts.

31.1 Two Consonant clusters

According to TOL the following can occur.

-ñk-, -ñc-, -ñy-, -tk-, -tc-, -tp-, -ñk-, -ñc-,
-ññ-, -ñt-, -ñp-, -ñm-, -ñy-, -ñv-, -ñt-, -ñy-,
-mp-, -my-, -mv-, -yk-, -yñ-, -yc-, -yñ-, -yt-,
-yp-, -ym-, -yv-, -yn-, -rk-, -rñ-, -rc-, -rñ-, -rt-,
-rn-, -rp-, -rm-, -ry-, -rv-, -lk-, -lc-, -lp-, -ly-,
-lv-, -vy-, -lk-, -lñ-, -lc-, -lñ-, -lt-, -ln-, -lp-,
-lm-, -ly-, -lv-, -lk-, -lc-, -lp-, -ly-, -lv-, -rk-,
-rc-, -rp-, -ñk-, -ñc-, -ññ-, -ñp-, -ñm-, -ñy-,
-ñv-, -ñt-

There are altogether 70 consonant clusters.

In PT we find the following:

-ñk-	ananku	distress	62-11
-ñc-	neñcam	mind	89-14
-tk-	pu:tkai	resolution	30-40
-tc-	ma:tcī	glory	42-6
-tp-	ke:tpa	to hear	70-23
-ñk-	pu:ñka	let them be yoked	81-32
-ñt-	ya:ñtu	year	18-8
-ñp-	pañpu	nature	15-32
-ñm-	peñmai	modesty	70-14
-nt-	vanticiñ	came-I	15-15
-mp-	ampu	arrow	19-9
-yk-	ceykuvai	will do-you	36-14
-yt-	eyti	having experienced	15-30
-ym-	va:ymai	truth	70-12
-yv-	teyvam	God	82-1
-rk-	nukarke:m	will enjoy-we	38-13
-rt-	peyarti	will return-you	72-24
-rn-	a:rna	eaters	13-6
-rp-	ma:rpu	chest	11-17
-rv-	atirvu	trembling	81-8
-lk-	celku	will go-I	76-9
-lc-	valci	food	75-12
-lp-	ca:lpu	good quality	82-14
-lv-	celvam	wealth	11-20
-lk-	va:lka	let (it) live	20-5
-lt-	va:liti	will live-you	39-1
-ln-	va:lñar	they who will live	37-10

-lp-	avilpu	the act of widening	20-8
-lv-	makiļu	pleasant	12-25
-lk-	koikai	chastity	15-29
-lv-	ve:lvi	sacrifice	64-4
-rk-	na:rkū	clearly	90-12
-ñk-	na:ñku	four	14-1
-ñp-	munpu	strength	20-4
-ñm-	pañmar	they who are ten	14-5
-ñt-	ca:ñto:r	noble men	35-1

In some other texts -yp-, -rm-, -lm- and -lp- are also found to occur.

ceypa	will do-they	PR 239-19
ayarma:r	to eat	KR 155-6
pukañmai	fame	KL 135-14
a:lpavar	they who rule	KL 5-12

It has been said that TOL has listed 70 consonant clusters, out of which 36 are found to occur in PT as listed above. In other Old Tamil texts four more are also attested. But there are many which are not attested in any of the OT texts. It is true, that the commentators of Tolkappiyam have given examples for all of the clusters under cu:tram 23 to 30, in EI. But in this connection, it has to be mentioned that vast majority of the examples given by the commentators are compound words or two-words in which we find various clusters. The following will illustrate it very clearly.

-ñy-	uriñ ya:tu	Tol., E.,	Ila. 27 and Nac. 27
-ñc-	veñ ca:ntu	„	Ila. 26 Nac. 26
-ññ-	veñ ña:ñ	„	„
-ay-	mañ ya:tu	„	„
-ñv-	mañ valitu	„	Ila. 26 Nac. 26
-ny-	ep vañtu	„	„
-ny-	porun ya:tu	„	Ilam 27 Nac. 27
-my-	tirum ya:tu	„	„

-my-*	nilam valitu	Tol., E.,	Ila. 28	-uc-	pun cey	Tol. E.,	Ila. 25
-yñ-	ve:yñāṇam	"	Ila. 29	-ññ-	pon ñai:ñ	"	Ila. 26
	ve:yññāṇam**	"	Nac. 29		meñ ñai:ñ	"	Nac. 26
-ye-	ve:y ciṛitu-	"	Ila. 29	-ny-	pon ya:tu	"	Ila. 26
	ey cilai	"	Nac. 29		īñ ya:l	"	Nac. 26
-yñ-	ve:y ña:nṛatu	"	Ila. 29	-ny-	pon valitu	"	Ila. 26
	pa:y ñekiḷi	"	Nac. 29		pun varaku	"	Nac. 26
-ym-	ve:y ni:nṛatu	"	Ila. 29				
	a:yuar	"	Nac. 29	31.2. Three consonant clusters			
-rñ-	ve:rñāṇam	"	Ila. 29	It has been said that in OT several three consonant clusters are found and they also occur only in the middle of the words.			
	ve:rññāṇam	"	Nac. 29				
-re-	ve:r ciṛitu	"	Ila. 29	TOL in cūtra 48 speaks of three consonant clusters. According to him the first members of the clusters are y, r and l and the second and third members are the gemination of k, c, t, p, ñ, ñ, n and m and this gives totally 24 clusters. The commentators also give clusters like -yñk-, -yñc-, -ynt-, -ymp-, -rñk-, -rñc-, -rnt-, -rmp- and -lñt- (Nac. 48). Out of these clusters in PT we find the following.			
-rñ-	ve:r ña:nṛatu	"	Ila. 29				
	ne:r ñekiḷi	"	Nac. 29				
-ry-	ve:r ya:tu	"	Ila. 29				
	po:r ya:nai	"	Nac. 29				
-ly-	kol ya:nai	"	Ila. 24				
			&				
			Nac. 24				
-vy-	tey ya:tu	"	Ila. 27				
			&				
			Nac. 21				
-lc-	vi:l ciṛitu	"	Ila. 29	-ykk-	moykkum	which will crowd	22-14
	va:l ce:ṛi	"	Nac. 29	-ytt-	te:yttu	having destroyed	20-11
-lñ-	vi:l ña:nṛatu	"	Ila. 29	-ynt-	a:yntu	having examined	69-8
	va:l ñeṇṇu	"	Nac. 29	-ypp-	va:yppu	chance	20-6
-lr-	vi:l ni:nṛatu	"	Ila. 29	-ymp-	moympu	valour	90-34
	a:lṇar	"	Nac. 29	-ymm-	ceymma:r	will do-they	54-14
-ly-	vi:l ya:tu	"	Ila. 29	-rkk-	atirkkum	which will cause to	
	vi:l ya:nai	"	Nac. 29			tremble	30-42
-lc-	ko:l ciṛaiṛ	"	Ila. 23	-ritt-	utirttu	having removed	74-10
	ni:l cinai	"	Nac. 23	-rpp-	pa:rppa:r	Brahmins	63-1
-ly-	ve:l ya:ru	"	Nac. 24	-rnt-	atirntu	quivered	12-6
-rc-	ka:rciṛaiṛ	"	Ila. 23	-lkk-	va:lkkai	life	48-15
	muyarci	"	Nac. 23	-lcc-	va:lcci	life	56-7
-rp-	ka:ṛpa	"	Ila. 23	-litt-	va:litta	to praise	15-26
			&	-lnt-	umilntu	having discharged	81-26
			Nac. 23				

* While commenting the cūtra, E. 28 Nac. says that examples for this cluster have been out of use and he does not give any example for the same.

** Nac. is of the opinion that words like these, were in vogue in olden times, but out of use in his days.

In other OT texts we find examples for *-ycc-*, *-rcc-* and *-lpp-*

<i>-ycc-</i>	<i>a:ycciyar</i>	herds women	CIL 15-206
<i>-rcc-</i>	<i>te:rcci</i>	the act of thinking	
		minutely	PR 235-13
<i>-lpp-</i>	<i>mukilppatu</i>	that which is	
		budding	PAR XIII-46

It is true that the commentators have given examples for various consonant clusters for which

we find no examples in any of the OT texts. The examples given are:

<i>-yñk-</i>	<i>ka:yñkani</i>	Nac. 48
<i>-yñc-</i>	<i>te:yñcatu</i>	„
<i>-rñk-</i>	<i>ne:rñkal</i>	„
<i>-rñc-</i>	<i>ne:rñcilai</i>	„
<i>-rmp-</i>	<i>ne:rmpuram</i>	„

Note that most of the examples are of two words. The word *te:yñcatu* is a spoken form of *te:yntatu*.

DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS AND CONSONANTS - CLUSTERS

CHART I

Distribution of Vowels - Initially before consonants and vowels

	k	ñ	c	ñ	t	n	p	m	y	r	l	v	l	l	r	n	a	a:	i	i:	u	u:	e	e:	o	o:	ai	au
a	+	✓	+	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
a:	+	+	✓	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
i	+	✓	+	+	+	✓	✓	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
i:	+	+	✓	✓	+	✓	✓	+	+	+	✓	✓			✓	✓	+											
u	+	+	✓	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
u:	+	+	+	+	+	+		✓		+			+		+													
e	✓	✓	+	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+											
e:	✓	✓	✓	✓	+	+		+	+	+	✓	+	✓	✓	+	+	+							+				
ai					✓	+		+	+			✓							✓									
o	+		✓	+			+		+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	+	+											
o:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	✓	+	+														+		
au																												

✓ indicates the presence of vowel or consonant in PT.

✓ indicates the presence of vowel or consonant in other texts.

CHART IV

Distribution of Vowels - Finally after consonants and Vowels

[illegible]

CHART V

Distribution of Consonants - Initially before vowels and diphthongs

[illegible]

CHART VI

Distribution of Consonants-Medially after vowels and diphthongs

	<i>a</i>	<i>a:</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u:</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e:</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o:</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>
<i>k</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	✓	✓
<i>kk</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
<i>ñ</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	✓	+	+	✓	
<i>ññ</i>		+					+					
<i>c</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		✓	+	✓	+	
<i>cc</i>	+		+	✓	+	✓	+	✓	✓	+	+	
<i>ñ</i>	+	+	+		+		+				+	
<i>ññ</i>	+		✓				✓					
<i>t</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>tt</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>p</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	✓		
<i>pp</i>	+	+	✓		+		+		✓	+	+	
<i>t</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	
<i>tt</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	✓	+	
<i>n</i>	✓	✓	+	✓	+	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	+	
<i>nn</i>					+		+				✓	
<i>p</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	+				✓	+	
<i>pp</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	
<i>m</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	+	✓	+	+	
<i>mm</i>	+		✓		✓		+		✓		✓	
<i>y</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>yy</i>					+		+		+			
<i>r</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>rr</i>												
<i>l</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>ll</i>	+		+		+		+		+			
<i>v</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
<i>vv</i>	+		✓				+		✓			
<i>l</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>ll</i>												
<i>l</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	+	+	+	+	✓		
<i>ll</i>	+		✓		+		✓		+			
<i>r</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>rr</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>n</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
<i>nn</i>	+		+		+		+		+			

CHART VII
Distribution of Consonants-Medially before vowels and diphthongs

	<i>a</i>	<i>a:</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u:</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e:</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o:</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>
<i>k</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	✓	+	+	
<i>kk</i>	+	✓	+	✓	+	✓		+		✓	+	
<i>ñ</i>								✓				
<i>ññ</i>	+											
<i>ε</i>	+	+	+	✓	+		✓	✓		✓	+	
<i>cc</i>	+		+		+						✓	
<i>ñ</i>	+		+		✓						+	
<i>ññ</i>	✓										+	
<i>t</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	+		+	✓	+	+	
<i>tt</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	+		✓	✓	+	✓	
<i>p</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		✓		✓	+	
<i>pp</i>	+	+	+	✓	+		✓	+		✓	✓	
<i>t</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	+		+	+	+	+	
<i>tt</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	✓		✓	+	+	+	
<i>n</i>	+	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓			✓	
<i>nn</i>		✓	✓	+	✓	✓	+					
<i>p</i>	+	✓	+		+	+	✓	✓	+	+	✓	
<i>pp</i>	+	+	+		+	✓	✓	+	+	✓	+	
<i>m</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	✓	✓	+	+	+	+	
<i>mm</i>	+	+	+	✓	✓		+	✓	✓	✓	+	
<i>y</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	+	✓	+	+	+	+	
<i>yy</i>	+	+	✓		+			✓	✓	✓	✓	
<i>r</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	
<i>rr</i>												
<i>l</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	✓	✓	✓	+	+	+	
<i>ll</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	✓	✓	+		+	+	
<i>v</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	✓	✓	+	✓	+	+	
<i>vv</i>	+	+	✓	✓	+	+	✓				✓	
<i>l</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	
<i>ll</i>												
<i>l</i>	+	+	+	+				+	✓	✓	+	
<i>ll</i>	+	+	+		+	✓	✓	+	✓		+	
<i>r</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	
<i>rr</i>	+	+	+		+	✓	✓	+	+	+	✓	
<i>n</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	✓	+	+		+	+	
<i>nn</i>	+	+	+	✓	+	✓		+	+	✓	+	

CHART VIII

Distribution of consonants - Finally after vowels and diphthongs

[illegible]

CHART IX

Distribution of Consonants - Medially after consonants

[illegible]

CHART X

Distribution of Consonants - Medially before consonants

[illegible]

CHART XI

Identical two consonant clusters

[illegible]

CHART XII

Non-identical two consonant clusters

	Second member																	
	<i>k</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>k</i>																		
<i>ñ</i>	+																	
<i>c</i>																		
<i>ñ</i>			+															
<i>t</i>	+		+						+									
<i>n</i>	+				+				+	+								
<i>t</i>																		
<i>n</i>							+											
<i>p</i>																		
<i>m</i>									+									
<i>y</i>	+							+	✓	+				+				
<i>r</i>	+							+	+	+	✓			+				
<i>l</i>	+		+						+					+				
<i>v</i>																		
<i>l</i>	+						+	+	+	✓				+				
<i>l</i>	+								✓					+				
<i>r</i>	+																	
<i>n</i>	+								+	+								

CHART XIII

Three consonant clusters

	Second members						
	<i>kk</i>	<i>cc</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>mm</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>mp</i>
	<i>First member</i>						
<i>y</i>	+	√	+	+	+	+	+
<i>r</i>	+	√	+	+		+	
<i>l</i>	+	+	+	√		+	

CHART XIV

Consonant clusters stated in Tolkappiyam

		Second member																	
		<i>k</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>n</i>
First member	<i>k</i>																		
	<i>ñ</i>	+																	
	<i>c</i>																		
	<i>ñ</i>			+								+							
	<i>ṭ</i>	+		+						+									
	<i>ṇ</i>	+		+	+	+				+	+	+				+			
	<i>t</i>																		
	<i>n</i>							+					+						
	<i>p</i>																		
	<i>m</i>										+		+					+	
	<i>y</i>	+	+	+	+			+		+	+					+			+
	<i>r</i>	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+				+			
	<i>l</i>	+		+						+		+				+			
	<i>v</i>												+						
	<i>ḷ</i>	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+				+			
	<i>ḷ</i>	+		+						+		+				+			
	<i>r</i>	+		+							+								
	<i>n</i>	+		+	+						+	+	+			+			+

MORPHOLOGY

VERBS

0.1.

Introduction

It is well known that in almost all natural languages verbs are considered to be the most important part of speech and Tamil is not an exception. In Tamil, verbs play a very important role and this can be seen not only in syntax but in morphology as well. As Tamil verbs are inflected to various grammatical categories the bulk of Tamil morphology has necessarily to deal with verb.

Tamil verbs are inflected to various grammatical categories like

1. Transitive
2. Negative
3. Tenses
4. Infinitive
5. Verbal participle
6. Relative participle

etc. and Tamil being an agglutinative language most of the categories are expressed by various suffixes and no prefix is found in it. It is true that one or two categories like transitivity are expressed inherently by certain verbs but this does not alter the general picture of the structure of Tamil verbs.

In this connection mention has to be made that certain categories are disjunctive and of certain others are not. It is well known that negative and tenses are disjunctive in most of the cases brought in certain expressions like

vantilan didn't come-he
vantila! didn't come-she

we find both tense marker and negative suffix. Similarly in the case of verbal nouns also we don't find generally any tense suffixes and Caldwell [1957: 542]- while dealing with them says "they are indeterminate with respect to time, being formed,

not from participles, but from the verbal root or the formed theme....."

But in the case of several other categories one can find that the occurrences of one category demand that of the others. Relative participle for instance always shows tenses and these expressions do contain various tense markers and the relative particle markers are set up immediately after the tense markers or negative markers. This can be found in several other categories and one can very easily understand this phenomenon while going in to the following pages.

1.0.

Transitives

All Tamil verbs can be broadly classified into two main classes namely, intransitive and transitive. Transitive verbs are those verbs which are capable of taking object whereas intransitive verbs are not.

1.1.

Transitive verbs can be further classified into two:

- (1) those verbs which are derived from corresponding intransitive verbs form one class
- (2) those which do not have any overt marker to denote transitivity form another class.

The former can be called *Derived Transitive* and the latter *Inherent Transitive*.

1.2.

Dr. Caldwell derives transitive from the corresponding intransitive in four modes.

- (1) There is a set of intransitive verbs which end in stops like, *a:ku* 'become' and stops preceded by homorganic nasals like *a:anku* 'to be submissive', *tirumpu* 'turn' etc. These "intransitive themes become transitive by the hardening of the consonant of the appended formative".

<i>a:ku</i>	become	>	<i>a:kku</i>	to make
<i>tirumpu</i>	turn	>	<i>tiruppu</i>	turn
<i>tiruntu</i>	become correct	>	<i>tiruttu</i>	correct

(2) There is another set of intransitive verbs like *nanai* 'become wet' *ce:r* 'join', *kurai* 'diminish'. These intransitive verbs become transitive "by the doubling and hardening of the initial consonant of the signs of tense".

<i>nanai-nt-a:n</i>	became wet-he	>	<i>nanai-tt-a:n</i>	wet-he
<i>kurai-nt-atu</i>	became	>	<i>kurai-tt-atu</i>	diminished-it
<i>eri-nt-atu</i>	burnt-it	>	<i>eri-tt-atu</i>	burnt-it
<i>nanai-v-a:n</i>	will become wet-he	>	<i>nanai-pp-a:n</i>	will wet -he

(3) There is still another set of verbs like *nafa* 'walk' *ti:r* 'finish' *aru* 'cut' etc. which are converted into transitive "by adding a particle of transition to the theme or root".

<i>nafa</i>	walk	>	<i>nafa-tt-u</i>	conduct
<i>uyar</i>	rise	>	<i>uyar-tt-u</i>	raise
<i>nimir</i>	become erect	>	<i>nimir-tt-u</i>	erect
<i>ta:l</i>	become low	>	<i>ta:l-tt-u</i>	lower

(4) Dr. Caldwell gives another set which is converted into transitives by "doubling and hardening the final consonant if *d* or *r*" which can be included in the first set itself as *d* and *r* can also be treated as stops in Tamil. Verbs like *o:ru* 'run' *a:ru* 'become cool' *va:ru* 'wither' etc. which behave exactly like those verbs can be included in the first set.

Though Caldwell has set up four classes they can be brought under three classes on the basis of their derivation.

(1) Those verbs which can be converted into transitive by hardening the homorganic nasal or duplicating the final stop.

(N)P > PP

(2) Those verbs which can be converted into transitive according to Caldwell by "The doubling and hardening of the initial consonant of the signs of the tense".

(3) Those verbs which can be converted into transitive by "adding a particle of transition to the theme or root".

Caldwell's statement that class 2 verbs are converted into transitives by doubling and hardening the signs of tense is only partially true. Examples like

<i>nanai-a</i>	>	<i>nanaiya</i>	vs. <i>nanai-kka</i>
<i>kurai-a</i>	>	<i>kuraiya</i>	vs. <i>kurai-kka</i>
<i>eri-a</i>	>	<i>eriya</i>	vs. <i>erikka</i>
<i>nanaiyum</i>			vs. <i>nanai-kkum</i>
<i>kuraiyum</i>			vs. <i>kurai-kkum</i>

show that addition of a particle of transition is also involved. Now the question is whether transitive is made either by hardening and doubling, or by addition of any transitive marker or by both.

It is possible to argue that in cases like *nanai-nt-a:n* vs *nanai-tt-a:n*, *nanai-v-a:n* vs. *nanai-pp-a:n* transitive is made by the addition of a sign say -X or, *t* or *k* can also be taken which determines the allomorphs of the tense markers.

Simple rules like	X - k	>	kk
	X - t	>	tt
	X - p	>	pp

will account for -tt-, -pp- and -kk- in words like:

<i>nanai-ppa:n</i>	
<i>nanai-tta:n</i>	
<i>nanai-kkum</i>	
<i>nanai-X-t-a:n</i>	> <i>nanai-tta:n</i>
<i>nanai-X-p-a:n</i>	> <i>nanai-ppa:n</i>
<i>nanai-X-kum</i>	> <i>nanai-kkum</i>

Similarly it is also possible to bring class 1 verbs too under the type which is converted into transitive by "adding a particle of transition to

the theme or root" by bringing the change (N)P > PP by a morphophonemic rule. -*tt*- which is considered to be the transitive marker in the case of class 3 verbs can also be taken and it can be added to the class 1 verbs and the transitive forms like *vilakku*, *tiruppu* etc. can be derived by applying morphophonemic rules like:

1. (N)P > PP / - & *tt*
2. *tt* > ϕ / PP & - &

This makes it possible to derive all the derived transitive by "adding a particle of transition to the theme or root" and by making use of the above morphophonemic rules which will also be useful to derive certain verbal nouns.

This shows that all the derived transitives are derived from corresponding intransitive verbs and there is always corresponding intransitive verb. But this is not the case with the inherent transitives.

There is also another important difference between the derived transitive and inherent transitive. Consider the following sentences.

1. *avan aṭankina:n* He subdued (int)
2. *na:n avanai aṭakkine:n* I subdued him (tr)
3. *na:n avanai nanaitte:n* I wet him (tr)
4. *avan nanainta:n* He got wet (int)

These sentences clearly show that the subject in the intransitive sentences are converted into objects in the corresponding transitive sentences. But this is not the case in the case of inherent transitives. It is impossible (though in certain cases it is possible, which will be discussed later) to have sentences like

5. **puttakam paṭittatu*
6. **puttakam pa:rtiatu*

corresponding to sentences like

7. *na:n puttakam paṭitte:n*
8. *na:n puttakam pa:rite:n*

1.3.

It is worth mentioning that in Tamil there are certain verbs which can be used both as transitive and intransitive. Verbs like *veḷu* 'wash' may be used both as intransitive and transitive. In these cases also the subject of the intransitive is used as the object of the corresponding transitive verb. Sentences like

9. *tunī veḷuttatu* The clothes became white

10. *avan tuniyai veḷutta:n* He washed the clothes
are found in Tamil.

1.4.

There is also another set of verbs like *tira*, *aṭai*, etc. which can be used both as intransitive and transitive. This is different from verbs like *veḷu*, in that the latter can take human nouns as subjects both as intransitive and transitive. But it is not possible with the verbs like *tira*, *aṭai*, etc. These verbs, when used as intransitive, can take neuter nouns only. In sentences like

9. *tunī veḷuttatu* The clothes became white
10. *avan veḷutta:n* He became white

veḷu is used as intransitive and both *tunī* a neuter noun and *avan* a human pronoun are used as subjects. But in the case of *tira*, *aṭai*, etc. this is not possible. In *katavu tirantatu* 'The door opened' where *tira* is used as intransitive but *katavu* is used as subject. But in

12. *avan tiranta:n*

tira is used as transitive, *avan* a human pronoun is used as subject.

This is the same case with

13. *katavu aṭaittatu* The door closed
14. *avan katavai aṭaitta:n* He closed the door

15. *ka:ykari virratu* vegetables sold
(there)

16. *avan ka:ykari virra:n* He sold vegetables
Though

katavu aḡaittatu
ka:ykari virratu

etc. are very often translated as 'The door was closed', 'The vegetables were sold' and are therefore considered as passive by many, they are not passive. They are used only as intransitive. This can also be seen in many languages like English, Azerbaijani, etc. We find expressions like

17. The door closes well
18. He closes the door
19. The vegetable sells well
20. He sells the vegetable

etc. and the verbs are considered to be both transitive and intransitive by English grammarians and not as passive. As the present author has shown elsewhere, *katavu aḡaittatu* is not the passive transformation of active sentences like

avan katavai aḡaitta:n (14) He closed the door

Sentences 13, 15 etc. must be taken as intransitive sentences rather than passive. These sentences are the transitive counter parts of sentences like 14, 16 etc. Note that the nouns used as object in sentences 14, 16 etc. are used as subject in sentences like 13, 15 etc. This is what exactly TOL speaks of in *cu:tram*:

ceyappaṇu poruḷaic ceytatu po:lat
tolir paṇak kiḷattalum vaḷakkiyal marape:

In Modern Tamil we find expressions like

21. *itu aḷaka:ka ceytirukkira:tu*
22. *itu kallil ceytirukkira:tu*
23. *itu nanṇa:ka kaṇṇiyirukkira:tu*
24. *itu aḷaka:ka eḷutiyirukkira:tu*

etc.

These expressions are considered as passive by some and therefore they are translated as

It is done beautifully
It is made of stone
It is done well
It is written well

But these expressions will not take any instrumental expressions like

enna:l by me
avana:l by him

etc. which are the transformed forms of original subjects as in the case of *enna:l*, *avana:l* etc. found in sentences like

25. *enna:l aṭikkappaṭṭa:n* He was beaten by me
26. *avana:l aṭikkappaṭṭe:n* I was beaten by him

Sentences like

27. **itu enna:l aḷaka:ka ceytirukkira:tu*
28. **itu avana:l kallil ceytirukkira:tu*

are ungrammatical. I don't find any reason why these expressions should not be taken as intransitive as in the case of *katavu tiṇantatu* and *katavu aḡaittatu* etc.

These sentences are the transformed forms of the sentences.

29. *ya:ro: itai aḷaka:ka ceytirukkira:irka!*
30. *ya:ro: itaikallil ceytirukkira:irka!*
31. *ya:ro: itai nanṇa:ka kaṇṇiyirukkira:irka!*
32. *ya:ro: itai nanṇa:ka eḷutiyirukkira:irka!*

Note that 'itai' which is used as object in all these sentences are converted [subjectivisation] into 'itu' (subject) in sentences 21, 22, 23 & 24 and the subject *ya:ro:* is deleted as two subjects cannot occur in a sentence. Again this is what TOL has said in *cu:tram* quoted above. This kind of expression is peculiar to Tamil and it is praise-

seworthy to note that TOL has mentioned this peculiar feature of Tamil.

It is worth-mentioning to note expressions like

inta tuṇiye nalla: kiḷiccirukke

ite nalla: kulukkiyirukke

ite nalla: eḷutiyirukke

etc. where we find *tuṇiye*, *ite*, etc. are used in accusative case. These are found in colloquial Tamil and they are not very uncommon. These forms do not fail to show that *inta tuṇi nalla: kiḷiccirukke* etc. are to be connected with the expressions

ya:ro: tuṇiye nalla: kiḷiccurukke:

which is in transitivity.

1.5.

It has been said that all the derived transitive can be derived by making use of two particles of transition, viz. *X* and *-tt-* to the theme or root. However, all the individual processes and the particles of transition are given below for ready reference.

In PT we find all the processes as well as the particles of transition.

1.5.1.

By doubling the final consonant

P > PP

In PT we find various examples for this process.

a. *k > kk*

a:ku > a:kku

a:kkiya who had performed PT 7-6

b. *t > tt*

o:tu > o:ttu

ku:tu > ku:ttu

o:ṭṭi having caused to run 44-70
ku:ṭṭum collecting, 40-18

c. *r > rr*

e:ru > e:rru

a:ru > a:rru

e:rrumin mount-you, [Pl.] 18-2

a:rru having done 84-21

1.5.2.

By hardening the homorganic consonant

(N)P > PP

In PT and other OT texts several examples are attested.

a. *ṇk > kk*

aṇakkiya who controlled 45-16

ni:kki having turned 17-4

nuṭakkiya which dried 72-14

mayakkiya which had mixed 90-29

kalakkiya having caused to pain PR 230-9

aṇakku control MM 5-124

b. *mp > pp*

nirappi having filled 40-11

nirappinai filled-you [Sg.] 50-16

nirappu fill TK 229

c. *nt > tt*

aruttinai ate-you 70-18

varuttu make to suffer KR 102-2

Note that in all these cases (1 and 2) both the intransitives and the transitives take *-in-* as past tense marker.

aṇankiya who submitted KR 338-7

aṇakkiya who controlled PT 45-16

nirampina became full-they KR 337-3

nirappinai filled-you PT 50-16

aruntinar ate-they IN 351-2

aruttinai caused to eat-you PT 70-18

Note that when the above verbs are inflected to past tense they take *-in-* as the past tense marker whereas this is not the case of the corresponding intransitives. When the transitive verbs take *-in-* as the past tense marker their corresponding intransitives take various other markers.

<i>akanra:n</i>	<i>akarri:n</i>
<i>pu:n:n</i>	<i>pu:ri:n</i>
<i>na:anta:n</i>	<i>na:tatti:n</i>

It has been said that class (2) verbs are converted into transitives by doubling and hardening the signs of tense. Though it is true in the case of past tense this is not so in the case of some other grammatical categories.

1.5.3.

By the addition of particle of transition

a. *-tt-*

There are several verbs in OT in which we find contrast between the intransitive and the transitive as found in:

<i>akal:</i>	<i>akal+tt</i>	>	<i>akarru</i>
<i>pu:n:</i>	<i>pu:n+tt</i>	>	<i>pu:ttu</i>
<i>uru:</i>	<i>uru+tt</i>	>	<i>uruttu</i>

In PT there are several examples where we find this phenomenon.

<i>akarrum</i>	who will cause to vanish	22-33
<i>pu:tti</i>	having caused to wear	48-2
<i>curutti</i>	having folded	53-19

b. adding *-X-*

There are also several verbs in OT in which we find contrast between the intransitive and the transitive as found in

<i>u:ai:</i>	<i>u:ai-X-t</i>	>	<i>u:aitta</i>
<i>o:ti:</i>	<i>o:ti-X-t</i>	>	<i>o:tittu</i>
<i>kili:</i>	<i>kili-X-t</i>	>	<i>kilitta</i>

In PT there are several examples where we find this phenomenon.

<i>amai:</i>	<i>amai-X-t</i>	>	<i>amaittu</i> having caused to set	29-8
<i>uy:</i>	<i>uy-X-t</i>	>	<i>uytta</i> who administrated	22-11
<i>kili:</i>	<i>kili-X-t</i>	>	<i>kilitta</i> which was torn	51-33

2.0.

Imperative

In OT we find imperative both in singular and plural though the plural forms are also used to denote honorific plural. It is true that some kind of accent might have been made use of in OT in the imperative and it is not attempted here to go into the details of its distribution etc.

2.0.1.

Imperatives Proper

In OT we find two types of imperative forms, one without any second person markers and this can be called "Imperative proper" and the other with the person markers. Examples like

<i>ke:!</i>	(you) hear!
<i>ke:la!</i>	(don't) hear!
<i>o:mpumati</i>	(you) dispel!
<i>ce:nm</i>	(you) go!
<i>ce:nmo:</i>	(you) go!
<i>ce:nme:</i>	(you) go!
<i>ce:nmin</i>	you (pl) go!

can be found in OT texts and they do not have any second person markers. In this type of imperative, tense is also not found. They always denote future as imperatives which are necessarily to occur in the future only.

2.0.2.

Second person imperative

There are very many occurrences of second person expressions in OT texts which are used as

imperative though they have both tense and person markers. Expressions like

<i>muṭṭi</i>	(you) finish!	PT 54-2
<i>varuti</i>	(you) come!	KL 108-54
<i>ke:ṭṭi</i>	(you) hear!	PR 289-8
<i>ninaiya:y</i>	(you) think!	KR 298-4
<i>no:va:y</i>	(you) don't feel sorry!	KL 75-12
<i>añca:ti</i>	(you) don't be afraid of	KL 84-36
<i>añcalai</i>	(you) don't be afraid of!	KR 300-5

etc belong to this class and have both tense and person markers. They are homophonous with their indicative counter parts like

<i>aruṭuti</i>	(you) will grace
<i>ceyya:y</i>	(you) will do
<i>añca:y</i>	(you) will be afraid of
<i>añcalai</i>	(you) will not be afraid of
<i>aruḷa:ti</i>	(you) will not be gracious

etc.

2.0.3.

TOL does not make any distinction between second person indicative and imperative [Venkata-rajulu Reddiyar, 1961] and has listed both second person plural markers *-i:r*, *-ir* and the imperative plural marker *-min* in one and the same cu:tram (709) saying that they denote second person plural. The so called expletive *-mo:* which always occur with imperative is also listed (759) as the second person expletive and not as the imperative expletive. This is also the case with the expletives *-miya:*, *-mati* etc. (759) which clearly indicate that TOL has not made any distinction between the second person markers and the imperative markers. With regard to imperative singular he has not listed any marker along with second person indicative singular markers (708) and this may be due to

the fact that there is no overt marker denoting imperative in the singular expressions. Though it is true that TOL lists *-min* with the second person plural signs it does not mean that it does not denote imperative and that Tholkappiyar was not aware of the existence of imperative in Tamil. It is noteworthy that he uses separate name *e:val* 'imperative' in two cu:trams, 210 and 224.

2.1.0.

Imperative singular

Imperative singular is expressed in OT in two ways, one by making use of verb stems (with negative markers in the case of negative imperative) without any imperative marker and the other, as has been said earlier, by making use of second person indicative expressions. It may be possible to introduce *-ḥ-* as imperative singular marker and as this does not help much, and it is not followed in the present analysis. Imperative negative is expressed by adding *-a:l-*, *-a:l* and *-e:l* to various verb stems.

2.1.1.

Positive Imperative singular

Mere verb stems are used as positive imperative singular.

<i>ke:ḷ</i>	(you) listen!	PR 18-17
<i>ta:</i>	(you) give!	KR 349-6
<i>i:</i>	(you) give!	PT 52-23
<i>va:</i>	(you) come!	AK 240-15
<i>cel</i>	(you) go!	IN 303-4
<i>cel</i>	(you) go!	KL 19-7
<i>nil</i>	(you) stand!	PAR VIII-49
<i>ke:ḷ</i>	(you) hear!	PP 4-38
<i>pey</i>	(you) give!	TK 55-2
<i>ke:ḷ</i>	(you) listen!	CIL 9-73
<i>ke:ḷ</i>	(you) hear!	MM 6-36

2.1.2.

Negative imperative singular

Negative imperative singular is formed by adding *-al*, *-a:l* and *-e:l* to the verb stems and out of these markers *-al* outnumbers the other two. While *-al* is found in 96 occurrences *-a:l* is found only in five places, *-e:l* occurs only in four occurrences.

It is also to be noted that like positive imperative, negative imperative is also expressed by negative indicative expressions like *añcalai* 'don't be afraid of' (literally 'you will not be afraid of') etc.

2.1.2.1.

-al

-al- is used as negative marker in the singular imperative in all the OT texts though *-a:l-* is found to occur very rarely.

-al is found to occur in all the OT texts except PT, NR and PP and it is the most predominant negative marker used in this imperative expressions.

Though it is not found in PT, it occurs in other texts.

<i>eellal</i>	(you) don't go	PR 259-4
<i>cellal</i>	(you) don't go	KR 179-3
<i>cellal</i>	(you) don't go	AK 21-6
<i>cellal</i>	(you) don't go	IN 233-4
<i>uraiyal</i>	(you) don't say	KL 90-27
<i>ce:ral</i>	(you) don't go	PAR XI-112
<i>añcal</i>	(you) don't fear	TK 1154
<i>alal</i>	(you) don't cry	CIL 9-24
<i>añcal</i>	(you) don't fear	MM 7-18

2.1.2.2.

-a:l

There are only five instances in OT where *-a:l* is found to occur in the negative imperative,

and it is just an elongated form of *-al*. It must be mentioned that *-al*, *-a:l* and *-e:l* are almost in free variation.

<i>ala:al</i>	(you) don't cry	KR 82-2
<i>toḷa:al</i>	(you) don't touch	KR 191-1
<i>aḷa:al</i>	(you) don't cry	AK 233-2
<i>viṭa:al</i>	(you) don't separate	AK 26-9
<i>viṭa:al</i>	(you) don't allow to go	KL 112-7

2.1.2.3.

-e:l

There are only four instances in OT and they are found in AK, NR and PAR. In all probability, *-e:l* might have sprung up from *-a:l*.

<i>a:le:l</i>	don't be immersed	AK 97-15
<i>citaiye:l</i>	don't perish	NR 387-2
<i>cu:le:l</i>	don't make vow	PAR VIII-68
<i>ku:re:l</i>	don't tell	PAR VII-69

2.2.0.

Second person indicative singular

Imperative singular as mentioned earlier is also expressed by second person singular indicative expressions both in positive and in negative. It must be mentioned here that in these forms both tense and second person markers are found whereas this is not so in the case of imperatives proper. This mode of imperative can be seen in many natural languages including Dravidian languages like Malayalam, Kannada etc. (P. S. Subrahmanyam, 1971 : 498.) In MOT expressions like *va:kkaḷippi:r* 'you (Pl.) vote for' etc. are used as imperatives.

In OT, forms with *-ai*, *-a:y* and *-i* (which are used as second person markers) are found to be used as imperative, and *-ḷ-* in the case of *-ai* and *-a:y*, and *-t-* in the case of *-i* denote future tense and *-ai*, *-a:y* and *-i* denote second person singular. Corresponding negative forms [*añcalai*, *no:va:y añca:ti*] are also found to have been used as imperatives, though they are less frequent.

It is very gratifying to note that this phenomenon has been very well felt, by the traditional Tamil grammarians and this can be seen in TOL [933] and its various commentaries. Cenavaraiyar [Cut. 450] thinks that in this cu:tram TOL has said that expressions like *ceyya:y* 'you will do' would become *cey* 'you do'. Though Cenavaraiyar is not right in saying that the imperative form *cey* is derived from the indicative form, he is aware of the fact that sometimes the indicative forms are used as imperative.¹ Deivaccilaiyar another commentator [cut. 440] is also aware of this phenomenon and he has given expression to this fact in the same cu:tram. While commenting on the cu:tram P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri [1945 : 278] has rightly said that 'The second person singular verb of the paradigm *ceyya:y* 'you will do' is used as *cey* '(you) do also'.

Not only expressions like *ceyya:y* but all the other second person indicative forms, both singular and plural are found to be used in the imperative sense in all the OT texts. This can be seen not only in the positive expressions but in the negative expressions as well. Though TOL has mentioned only one pattern viz. *ceyya:y* it can safely be inferred that he has given it only as an example. Second person indicative singular expressions with *-ai*, *-a:y* and *-i* are made use of with imperative significance.

2.2.1.

-ai

<i>añcalai</i>	you don't be afraid!	KR 300-5
<i>i:ttai</i>	you give!	KL 86-30
<i>uññi:ttai</i>	you drink!	KL 85-32
<i>oḷukalai</i>	you don't behave!	PP 6-201
others: nil		

2.2.2.

-a:y (positive)

<i>ninaiya:y</i>	you think!	KR 343-1
<i>cella:y</i>	you go!	PT 40-21
<i>va:ra:y</i>	you come!	AK 285-15
<i>ka:ṭṭa:y</i>	you show!	NR 196-6
<i>aruḷa:y</i>	you give!	KL 60-18
<i>vanṭi:ya:y</i>	you come!	KL 114-5

2.2.3.

-a:y (negative)

-a:y also occurs with $-\phi$ -negation. It is found to occur only in three of the OT texts, one occurrence each in KL and PP and three in CIL

<i>no:va:y</i>	you don't feel sorry!	KL 75-12
<i>enna:y</i>	you don't consider!	PP 6-204
<i>owva:y</i>	you don't be similar!	CIL 7-23-1
		7-23-2
		7-23-4
<i>katuva:y</i>	you catch!	PAR XX-82
<i>colla:y</i>	you tell!	TK 1241
<i>po:ta:y</i>	you go!	TK 1123
<i>aṇivippa:y</i>	you inform!	CIL 20-29
<i>ka:ṇa:y</i>	you see!	MM 6-129
		MM 4-13
<i>ke:ḷa:y</i>	you hear!	MM 2-16

2.2.4.

-i (positive)

<i>ke:ṭṭi</i>	you hear!	PR 289-8
<i>muṇṭṭi</i>	you complete!	PT 54-2
<i>kaṇṇuṭi</i>	you tell!	IN 366-3
<i>e:kuti</i>	you go!	NR 264-4
<i>ka:ṭṭi</i>	you show!	KL 147-41
<i>ke:ṭṭi</i>	you hear!	PAR XIX-96
<i>peruṭi</i>	you get!	PP 1-66
<i>ce:ṇi</i>	you go!	TK 1244
<i>e:kuti</i>	you go!	MM 25-238

1 Cenavaraiyar has gone too far in saying that forms like *cey* is derived from *ceyya:y* and *vam* 'you (PI) come' from *vammin* and *aḷiyal* from *aḷiyalai*. It is true that sometimes the indicative forms are used to denote imperative, but this does not mean that imperative is derived from indicative.

2.2.5. -i (negative)

	<i>añca:ti</i>	you don't fear	KL 84-36
<i>Imperative Singular</i>			
	-ai	-a:y	-ti
PR	0	0	1
KR	1	4	0
	Neg.		
PT	0	1	1
AK	0	10	1 with i:
IN	0	0	1
NR	0	1	1
KL	27	16	20 negation
		out of 16	
		1 is negative	15 positive
			11 with -i
			4 with -i:
PAR	0	1	3
PP	1	1	1
	neg	neg	
TK	0	2	1
CIL	0	17	0
		out of 17	
		1 is negative	
MM	0	36	3

2.3.0.

Imperative plural

Imperative plural is also expressed in OT in two ways; one by making use of three markers *-min*, *-minka!* and *-(u)m* and the other by second person plural indicative expressions. Expressions like

<i>uñmin</i>	(you) eat!	PT 18-1
<i>ceñmo:</i>	(you) go!	PR 333-7

<i>uñm</i>	(you) eat!	PR 178-5
<i>koñm</i>	(you) accept!	PR 152-29

are found to occur in OT texts. It is true that *-m* is very rarely used to denote plural though it is found to be more common denoting the so called first degree (slight) respect. It is very often found with expletives *-o:* ; *-e:* and *-ati* as in

<i>vammo:</i>	(you) come!	PR 221-10
<i>vamme:</i>	(you) come!	IN 394-5
<i>ka:ñmati</i>	(you) see!	IN 140-1

In OT texts it is also found in the auxiliary *i:m* as in

<i>vanti:me:</i>	(you) come!	AK 80-13
<i>ceyti:mo:</i>	(you) do!	PR 145-7
<i>ma:ava:ti:me:</i>	(you) don't forget!	PR 198-27
		IN 473-3

etc.

Second person indicative plural expressions are also made use of to denote plural imperative. Though this is not very common there are a few instances in OT where they are made use of.

<i>ka:ññir</i>	(you) see!	PR 287-14
<i>naka:alir</i>	(you) don't laugh!	KL 142-16

2.3.1.

Imperative plural proper

As has already been said *-min* is used in OT to denote imperative plural and this is found to occur in many OT texts though *-minka!* is found only in CIL. *-m-* in *min* denotes plural and the origin of *-in* is not known. Though *-in* is connected with *-e:n* (as found in *va:rume:n*) [Israel, 1973:181] it is only highly speculative and is not convincing. In this connection mention has to be made that *-o:* is found to have been added to *-min* (*vammin:o:* PR 32-6; *priyamin:o:* AK 217-14; *puñamin:o:* NR 224-3; *arimin:o:* CIL 15-189; *ka:ñmin:o:* MM 3.154) which is not possible in the case of *-e:n*.

2.3.1.1.

-min occurs after

1. various verb stems
2. negative marker *-al-*
3. negative marker *-a:l-*

2.3.1.1.1.

After various verb stems

-min is found to occur immediately after various verb stems in the positive imperative plural and it is found to be very common in OT. As has already been pointed out it is used both in the plural and honorific singular. Examples like

o:mpumin tevtir 'Oh enemies! keep away
(from entering into the
war field)', PR 87-1

..... *pa:rppana ma:kkalum*

..... *pin:iyu:aiyi:rum*

..... *pe:a:ti:rum*

.... *num mara: ce:rmin*

Oh, Brahmins!... reach your
place of safety

PR 9-5

u:umin ka:lle: a:jumin co:re:

... ..

... ..

... ..

ku:ntal viraliyar

Oh, ministrals, drink the toddy...
cook the rice

PT 18-1

ni:r uraimin you (pl) tell!

IN 397-4

etc. show that *min* co-occurs with plural subjects.

Examples:

o:mpumin (you) protect! PR 291-3

utayumin (you) help! PT 18-7

<i>vammin</i>	(you) come!	PT 49-1
<i>ku:rumin</i>	(you) tell!	IN 385-4
<i>pu:armin</i>	(you) join!	NR 224-4
<i>o:mpumin</i>	(you) protect!	KL 145-43
<i>ke:rmin</i>	(you) hear!	PAR IX-13
<i>to:jumin</i>	(you) touch!	PP 10-277
<i>ni:nkumin</i>	(you) abandon!	CIL 30-186
<i>po:r:rumin</i>	(you) do!	MM 25-50

others : nil

2.3.1.1.2.

After negative *-al-*

In the plural imperative negative is expressed by *-al-*. It has to be noted that negative is not found in the case of plural imperatives like *vam*, you (pl) come! *tam* you (pl) give etc. It is found to occur only in PR, AK, KL, PAR, TK, CIL and MM.

kol:lanmin (you) don't have! PR 216-5

piriyanmin (you) don't part! AK 217-14

kala:kanmin (you) don't get
shaken! KL 143-19

ni:tanmin (you) don't prolong! PAR XIV-9

iravanmin (you) don't beg! TK 1067

kollanmin (you) don't kill! CIL 30-191

ceyyanmin (you) don't do! MM 13-50

others : nil

2.3.1.1.3.

After negative *-a:l-*

There is only one occurrence in the whole of OT texts and it occurs in KL. *-a:l-* is the elongated form of *-al-*.

naka:nmin (you) don't laugh. KL 145-12

	<i>-min</i>			
	H. Singular		Plural	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
PR	5	0	26	1
KR	2	0	0	0
PT	0	0	5	0
AK	1	1	1	1
IN	0	0	3	0
NR	4	0	4	0
KL	1	0	13	8
PAR	0	0	17	1
PP	0	0	36	0
TK	0	0	0	2
CIL	1	0	36	3
MM	0	0	19	2

2.3.1.2.

-minka!

-minka! is definitely a double plural form consisting of *-min* and *-ka!*. It has already been shown how *-min* is used denoting second person plural and honorific singular imperative. This kind of double plural forms can be seen in forms like [in MOT] *vanti:rka!* (you) come!, *va:ruŋka!*, (you) come!, *vanta:rka!* they come. In the whole of OT texts *-minka!* find its place only once and it occurs in CIL alone.

nanpuminka! (you) do! CIL 16-v-1

2.3.1.3.

-(u)m

-m is used as imperative plural marker in a very few instances (PR 4, PT 1, MM 3) though it is used more generally as imperative (first degree) honorific singular marker in OT. In the majority of the cases *-um* is contracted to *-m* and the

former is to be taken as the source from which the latter has sprung up. It is true that the contracted form *-m* is found to occur in majority of the cases and yet it does not preclude in considering *-um* as the source form.

Mention has to be made that *-m* is very often found to occur with various expletives viz *-o:*, *-e:* and *-ati* as in

ceŋmo: you (Hon) go! PR 333-7
ceŋme: you (Hon) go! NR 247-9
kaṭavumati you (Hon) drive! KR 250-4

TOL considers *-mo:* and *-mati* as expletives and lists them as second person expletives (759). *e:* (as in *ceŋme:*) (and not *me:*) is treated as expletive (Cu. 934) and we find some inconsistency in the segmentation of the above forms and we will return to this question later. All these forms represent one and the same type of imperative and different expletives are added to the imperative forms *ceŋm* and *kaṭavum* etc. However, they are treated separately (under Honorific singular) for convenience and for ready reference.

-m occurs after various verb stems.

uŋm (you) eat! PR 178-5
koŋm (you) have! PR 152-29
ceŋmo: (you) go! PR 333-7
vammo: (you) come! PR 221-10
tam (you) bring! PT 85-4
koŋum (you) give! MM 16-77
po:m (you) go! MM 6-26
po:m (you) go! MM 14-37

2.3.2.

Second person indicative plural

As mentioned earlier plural imperative is also expressed by second person plural indicative expressions. However, it is found to be very rare though there are a few instances in OT. In the case of singular there are very many instances and we have seen that TOL has also mentioned about

it. In the whole of OT there are only three instances (PR 1, AK 1, KL 1) though theoretically there is nothing wrong in making use of such expressions. These expressions are also used to denote honorific singular imperative.

<i>ka:ṇṭir</i>	(you) see!	PR 287-14
<i>ka:ṇṭir</i>	(you) see!	AK 275-19
<i>naka:alir</i>	don't laugh!	KL 142-16

There is only one instance in the whole of OT texts where second person plural indicative is used as honorific singular.

<i>a:ṛṛutir</i>	(you) (hon) help!	PR 58-20
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2.4.0.

Honorific singular imperative

Imperative is found to occur not only in singular and plural but in the honorific singular as well. In OT there are two kinds of honorific singular, viz. first degree honorific singular (denoting slight respect) and second degree honorific singular (denoting full respect) the former is shown by *-(u)m* and the latter by *-min*. Of the two, the former is found to occur both with *ni:r* 'you (pl)' and *ni:r* 'you (sing)' and the latter with *ni:r* 'you (Hon sing)' and *aṇivutaṇṭi:r* 'scholar' etc. It is worth mentioning that in OT there are many instances where *-m* cooccurs with *ni:* which is considered as common second person singular pronoun, and the detailed discussion which can be found under *vam*, *vammo:* *vamme:*

2.4.1.

Second degree honorific singular

-min is used as the second degree honorific singular marker. Examples like

... ... *ni:rum*

maṇ muḷa: vamaimin

'you (Hon. singular)' set right the drum!
PR 152-13-14

o:mpumin aṇivutaṇṭi:r

'Oh man of knowledge (Hon.) keep it up,'
KR 206-5

varuvi:r aṇkutaḷ uraimin manno:

'You (Hon. sing) tell us that you are coming'
AK 387-3.

In all these places we find overt subjects.

2.4.2.

First degree honorific singular

As has already been pointed out the first degree respect is expressed by *-(u)m* to which very often the expletives *-o*, *-e:* and *-ati* glued. However, there are a few instances where we find *-m* without these expletives. Though they are also followed by the quotative *-eṇa* etc. let us name it *vam* type and the others *vamme:* *vammati* and *vammo:*. It is true that they are not different from each others and they behave exactly alike both syntactically and semantically. But there have been a lot of discussions on whether *-o:* is to be segmented or *-mo:* is to be separated etc. in the Tamil grammatical tradition and therefore they are all dealt with here separately under various headings.

2.4.2.1.

'vam' type

Imperatives of *vam* 'you (pl/Hon. sing) come!' type occurs in PR, PT, PAR and MM and there are only a very limited number of occurrences in OT (PR 6, PT 1, PAR 1, MM 3) though imperatives like *vammo:* 'you (pl/Hon. sing) come!' *vamme:* 'you (pl/Hon. sing) come!' *vammati* 'you (Hon. sing) come!' and *vanti:m* 'you (pl/Hon. sing) come!' are more common. Mention has to be made that these expressions can be connected with *vam* type, as all are structurally the same. In *vammo:* *vamme:* and *vammati* *-o:* *-e:* and *-ati* are added to *vam*. *-i:m* in expressions like *vanti:m* is also structurally same as *vam* and it is added to the verbal participle

vantu and this can be rightly considered as an auxiliary.

Expressions like *vam* can be equated with MOT *va:rum* 'you (pl/Hon. sing) come' which is attested in PAR (14.9) and they are mostly found to occur in OT only in truncated forms like *uṇm* (*uṇṇum*) *vam* (*va:rum*) *ceṇm* (*cellum*) etc. except in three occurrences, one in PAR (14.9) (*va:rum*) another in CIL (7-28-2) (*va:ṇkum*) and yet another in MM 9.62 (*koṇum*). They denote both plural and honorific singular. Examples like

<i>uṇm</i>	you (pl) eat!	PR 178-5
<i>koṇm</i>	you (pl) have!	PR 152-29
<i>tam</i>	you (pl) bring!	PT 85-4
<i>po m</i>	you (pl) go!	MM 14-37
<i>koṇum</i>	you (pl) give!	MM 16-77

denote plural though the subjects do not occur overtly. In all the above examples the commentators have interpreted them as plural and made use of the plural forms.

<i>uṇmin</i>	you (pl) eat!	PR 178-5
<i>tammin</i>	you (pl) bring!	PT 85-4

Where we find *-min* an imperative plural suffix. There is atleast one instance in MM where we find *nir* as the subject *nir po:m* you (pl) go, MM 6-26.

There are a few occurrences of this type in OT denoting honorific singular.

<i>tam</i>	you (Hon. sing) give!	PR 203-4
<i>tinm</i>	you (Hon. sing) eat!	PR 150-13
<i>uṇm</i>	you (Hon. sing) eat!	PR 392-15
<i>va:rum</i>	you (Hon. sing) give!	PAR XIV-9

In these instances the commentators have used the full forms *ta:rum*, *tinmin*, *uṇmin* (though *-min* is imperative plural suffix which can be used as honorific singular also), respectively. In none of the occurrences, the pronoun *ni:* occurs though it is possible for us to supply it. In one of the occurrences,

"... .. *nin*

irumpe:rokkoloṇu tinmena..."

(you) eat with your (sg.) relatives' PR 150-13

where *nin* (your (sg)) is used from which it can be conjunctured that the subject of *tinm* must be *ni:*, second person singular pronoun.

TOL has never said anything about this kind of imperative. It is true that there is a lot of similarity between these forms and the finite verb of the form *ceyyum* 'will do he/she/it/they (neut)' which according to TOL cannot occur in the second person. But mention has to be made here that they are different from each other though they look homophonous. Imperative *ceyyum* 'you (pl) do' can take *-ṇka!* as found in *ceyyuṇka!* 'you (pl) do' (a double plural form) whereas this is not possible in *ceyyum* of third person. In *va:rum* 'you come' and *ta:rum* 'you give' the root vowel is lengthened where as this is not possible in the case of third person *varum* 'will come he/she/they/it'.

As mentioned earlier this type of imperative is found to occur only in four of the texts under analysis viz. PR, PT, PAR and MM, though this is common with *-o:* and *-e:*

Second person honorific singular

<i>uṇm</i>	you (Hon. sg.) eat!	PR 392-15
<i>tam</i>	you (Hon. sg.) give!	PR 203-4
<i>tinm</i>	you (Hon. sg.) eat!	PR 150-13
<i>va:rum</i>	you (Hon. sg.) come!	PAR XIV-9
<i>po:m</i>	you (Hon. sg.) go!	MM 14-37

2.4.2.2.

'*vamme*' type

Expressions like *vamme:* are also found in many of the OT texts and they are all interpreted exactly like the imperatives of the type *vam* and *vammo:* and *vammati*. Though theoretically it is possible that they (*vamme:*) denote plural also, in

none of the texts it is found to occur with plural subjects and it always comes with singular subjects and thereby denotes only honorific singular. Again, as in the case of *vammo*: etc. they occur very often with second person singular pronoun *ni*: you (sing). Examples like

ni: ve:ʃʃatu ceymme:

'you do whatever you wanted!' PR 46-8

melliyaḷ viraḷi ni:

... .. *ka:ṇpariyaḷaiye:*

ka:ṇʃal ve:ṇʃinaḷaiya:yiṇ ma:ṇʃa niṇ

... .. *ka:ṇiya ceṇme:*

'Oh! minstrel of gentle walk if you like to see go there to do so!', PR 133-1-7.

... .. *na:ʃa ni:*

... ..

... ..

... .. *ceṇme:*

'Oh country man! you go!' NR 247-9

ya:rai eluvaya:re: ni:yemakku

ya:raiṇum allai

... ..

... ..

... .. *nalan tantu ceṇme:*

'Oh ya:ṇa! who is her friend?

what relation do you have with us?

You don't have any connection with us

If you like to depart, you go only after giving back her beauty", NR 395-1-10

clearly show that forms like *ceṇme*: cooccur with *ni*: 'you (sing)' which is used as subject.

2.4.2.2.1.

There are a few instances where forms like *niṇ* 'you (sing)' is found to occur with *-me*: expressions from which one can infer that *ni*: (supplied) is used as subject.

cellal makilṇa niṇcey kaṇaṇ uṇaiyeṇ man

..... *nalan tantu ceṇme:*

makilṇa 'don't go. I have something to do'

AK 376-1-18

If you like to go, do so only after giving back my beauty, AK 376.

The occurrence of *niṇ* can be seen in another instance (AK 396) also.

2.4.2.2.2.

It is also to be noted that in many instances we find finite verbs with *-i-* and *-ai* (second person singular markers) occurring with *-me*: which also proves that *ni*: can be supplied as the subject of *-me*: forms.

ke:ʃʃanaḷaiya:yiṇ ve:ʃʃanaḷ ceymme:

'if you hear what I say, then do as you like!'

PR 46-8

ka:ṇʃal ve:ṇʃinaḷaiya:yiṇ

... .. *ka:ṇiya ceṇme:*

'if you like to see him, then you go to see!'

PR 133-3-7

... .. *ce:rppa!*

... ..

va:ʃa:ʃa:tal naṇ kaṇintanaḷ ceṇme:

'O king! you go after having known well that she will not live' NR 19-5-9

... .. *aṇintanaḷ ceṇme:*

you (try to) know and go! 'if you know well, you go'

... .. *piriya:ya:yiṇum naṇre:*

... ..

pirime:.

'you will not part; it is good. If you like to part, then part!' IN 308-1-3

2.4.2.2.3.

It is also very interesting to note that ordinary imperative forms are also found with *-me*: expressions which also shows that these forms are not very much differentiated from the ordinary non-honorific imperatives.

cellal makilna
... .. *nalan tantu ceṇme*:

'Oh makilna don't go! if you like to do so, go after giving back my beauty' AK 376-1-18

Note that both *cellal* and *ceṇme*: are used with one and the same subject viz. *ni*: (supplied). This shows that this type of imperative also very often cooccurs with *ni*: which is not considered as non-honorific.

2.4.2.2.4.

In OT there are 10 occurrences of this type and they are all used either with almost equals and people of intimacy.

-m is found to occur with *-e*: in many OT texts

<i>kaḷaime</i> :	you remove!	PR 145-10
<i>ceṇme</i> :	you go!	PR 133-7
<i>ceyme</i> :	you do!	PR 46-8
<i>prime</i> :	you part!	IN 308-4
<i>ceṇme</i> :	you go!	NR 19-9

NR 247-9
NR 395-10

<i>ninme</i> :	you stand!	NR 300-12
<i>aḷime</i> :	you grace!	KL 127-22
<i>paṇimime</i> :	you worship!	PAR XV-34

PR	3
KR	0
PT	0
AK	0
IN	1

NR	4
KL	1
PAR	1
PP	0
TK	0
CIL	0
MM	0

2.4.2.3.

'vammati' type

There are very many instances of imperative forms with the so called clitic *-mati* in OT.

Eg	<i>aṛmati</i>	you know!	PR 161-25
	<i>kaṭavumati</i>	you drive!	KR 250-4
	<i>ceṇmati</i>	you go!	PT 53-14
	<i>o:mpumati</i>	you protect!	AK 19-9
	<i>ku:ṭumati</i>	you tell!	IN 176-4
	<i>e:kumati</i>	you go!	NR 9-9
	<i>ayarmati</i>	you drive!	KL 30-19
	<i>o:mpumati</i>	you dispel!	PP 1-291
	<i>ke:ṇmati</i>	you listen!	MM 25-99

others : nil

TOL has categorically said that *-mati* is a second person expletive. Varadarajan (1954: 249) Elayaperumal (1958, 177-81) and Israel (1973: 183) consider *-min -mati* has to be separated and be taken as a imperative plural marker/honorific singular marker. But in none of the occurrences it has plural subject and it is always found to occur with singular subject. Mention has to be made that like *-mo*:, and *-me*: it is also found to denote honorific singular in many of the cases though *ni*: is found to have been used as the subject in several instances like

..... <i>ni:yum ke:ṇmati</i>	
you also hear!	PR 363-7
<i>no:kkumati ni:ye</i> :	
you see!	PR 270-7
<i>inne: ceṇmati ni:ye</i> :	
you go now!	PR 181-8

.....*niṭṭum*.....

.....

.....

kaṣavumati

you drive!

AK 124-13

etc. show that *ni:* can be the subject of the imperative expressions with *-mati*. In PR alone there are eight instances where we find *ni:* overtly and four with *niṇ* which show that *ni:* can be supplied. But it must not be forgotten that expressions with *-mo:* *-me:* and *-m* also take *ni:* as their subjects.

It is also to be noted that vocatives like *peruma*, Chief! *maṭavo:r cemma:l* Chief of the warriors! etc. definitely show that it used to denote respect. Examples like

arimati peruma Oh chief (you)
know!

PR 161-25

olukumati ma:ṭa Oh Pandya (you)
conduct yourself!

PR 56-21

nalkumatt peruma Oh chief! (you)
give!

PR 389-15

.....*maṭavo:r cemma:l*

niṇonṭuraippak ke:ṇmati

Oh chief of the warriors! you
hear what I tell!

PR 366-7

show that this form is used as honorific singular imperative.

Another important fact is that it is also used with intimate people who are almost equal to the speaker. Vocatives like *pa:ka*, *pa:ṇa* etc. show this feature. Examples like

collumati pa:ṇa Oh minstrel! tell

IN 479-1

ka:ṇmatt pa:ṇa Oh minstrel! see!

IN 134-1

ta:ṇkumati valava Oh charioteer! stop!

AK 66-13

show that it is used with equals and also with people of intimacy.

A few examples in OT show that it is used with inferiors and also with irrational nouns.

eḷumati neṇce: Oh my mind!
wake up!

PR 237-20

iravala ce:riya:yiṇ

toḷa:tanai kaḷṭtal o:mpumati

Oh begger! if you go, keep away from wor-
shipping (somebody)

PR 263-3

All these show that expressions with *-mati* are used to denote not only respect, but intimacy etc. as well. It denotes neither high respect nor inferiority, but something in between the two and this is also the case with expressions of the patterns *vammo:*, *vamme:*, *vam*, and *vanti:m* etc.

2.4.2.4.

"*vammo:*" type

As already mentioned imperative of the type *vammo:* 'you come' is not different from *vam*, *vamme:*, *vammatt* types except the fact that in the former we find an addition of *-o:* which can be considered as an expletive. However, as already mentioned they are treated separately for convenience and for ready reference though they are not in any way different from each other except the addition of different clitics. Therefore whatever is said with regard to one will apply to others also.

Expressions like *vammo:* is found to occur in almost all the EOT texts except PAR. They are all interpreted exactly like the forms of the types *vam* and *vamme:* by various commentators. They (*mo:* types) denote both plural and honorific singular. However, there are only two instances where it is used in plural.

ceṇmo: you (pl) go

PR 333-7

vammo: you (pl) come

PR 221-10

are used in plural in

taṇkiṇir ceṇmo: pulavi:r

"Oh poets! stay and go!"

PR 333-7

vaikam vammo: va:y mo:tip pulavi:r

'Oh poets of truth! We will curse, (please)
come!'

PR 221-10

The commentators also use the plural forms

celvi:rka:ka you (pl) go PR 333-7
(new commentary)

va:r:r you (pl) come PR 221-10

and it is certain that they denote plural in the above examples. Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer in his notes to *Puram* verse 333 has categorically said that '*ceṇmo*' is equivalent to *cellum*, a plural imperative and it occurs with the loss of *u* and with the addition of *-o:*.

There are many instances where it is used as honorific singular as other plural terminations.

But it must be mentioned here that unlike in MOT (where *ni:r* 'you (Hon)' occurs) these expressions co-occur with *ni:* 'you (sing)' second person singular pronoun. In many instances like

ni:yum emmum u:lumo:
'you also think of us! PR 48-7

ni:yum vammo: mutuva: yiravala
'Oh old beggar! you also come' PR 180-9

... .. *atu ni:*
ne:ntaṇai ya:yin tantanai ceṇmo:
'If you agree to it, give back and go'
KR 236-2

... .. *ni:yum*
... .. *koṇmo:*
'you also hear my word' AK 259-10-12

we find *ni:* as subject. It is also to be mentioned that in all these places the commentators make use of *-a:y*, a second person singular marker.

niṇatppa:ya:ka think-you (sg) PR 48-7
va:ra:y come-you (sg) PR 180-9
celva:ya:ka go-you (sg) KR 236-2
ke:ipa:ya:ka hear-you (sg) AK 259-10-12

This shows that in OT *ni:* is used in the place *ni:r* of MOT.

There are a few other instances where expressions like *niṇ* 'your (sg.)' are found and from which one can easily infer that *ni:* is the subject to be supplied.

... .. *en nalan tantu*
koṇṇanai ceṇmo: niṇ cu:le:
'after giving back my beauty (you)
go with your vow' KR 238-4-5

'*niṇno:ṭu ya:ṇum*
... ..
ka:ṇiya vammo: ka:talanto:li'
'Oh my dear girl friend, come (with me)
so that both you and I can see (him)'
AK 73-8-11

... .. *ciriya niṇ*
aṇinilaṇ uṭtal aṇcip paṭyat
.....
ka:ṇiya vammo: ka:ṭpume:m paṭuvi
'Oh woman of chastity! come slowly to see
the lover' AK 323-4-7
.. .. *emmoṭu ceṇmo: cellaṇiṇ maṇaiye:*
'come with us' don't go to your house',
IN 77-4

emmoṭu koṇmo: perumanin
paṇme lo:ti yaṭivila leṇige:
'if the lady of the beautiful lock is alive
you get it', IN 368-4-5

..... *peruṇkal na:ṭa*
celkam eḷumo: ciṭakkantiṇ u:li
'Oh man of mountain! we are going' you
stand and go. let your days be long!,
NR 93-5-6

ceṇṇanai kaḷalmo: pu:ṇka niṇ te:re:
'you go and remove her distress!
Yoke the horses in your chariot',
KL 133-19

In the above passages though *ni:* 'you (Sg)' does not find any place, *niṇ* 'your (Sg)' is found to occur and this clearly shows that *ni:* 'you (Sg)' has to be taken as the subject of *ceṇmo:*, *eḷumo:*, *kaḷaimo:* etc.

It is well known that in Tamil one and the same subject can have more than one predicate, one as the main and the others as subordinate predicates, all having pronominal terminations. In such cases when expressions like *ceymo:* occur as main predicates the subordinate predicates are found to occur in many places with *ai*, a second person singular marker. That is, both singular *-ai* *-mo:* are made use of for one and the same subject. Examples like

taṅkiṇai ceṇmo pa:ṇa
Oh bard! stay and go! PR 320-15

ne:rntaṇai ya:yin tantaṇai ceṇmo:
If you agree, give and go! KR 236-2

koṇṭaṇai ceṇmo: makilṇa
Oh makilna! have this and go', KR 238-5

ceṇmo: pa:ṭiṇi, naṅkalam peṭukuvai
Oh Paṇa woman! go you will get valuable jewels', PT 87-1

koṇṭaṇai ceṇmo: nuṇpu:ṇ ma:ṛpa
Oh man of chest with garlands! marry and go!, AK 132-8

varaintaṇai koṇmo:
(You) marry and have her!, IN 180-1

iruntaṇai ceṇmo:
Stay and go!, NR 146-6

ceṇṭaṇai kaḷaimo:
(You) go and removal, KL 133-19

are very common in OT texts and this also shows that both common singular termination *-ai* and *mo:* are made use of for one and the same subject. If *-m(ə:)* is taken as the honorific singular in all the above cases one has to accept that with honorific singular termination, *-ai* is also used.

Another important fact is that it is also used with the neuter subject at least in one instance in OT texts. In AK we find

ceṇmo: neṇcam, va:raḷeṇ ya:ne:
'Oh my mind (you) go! I don't come'
AK 245-21

where *ceṇmo:* is used with *neṇcam* 'mind'

It is also worth mentioning that very often these expressions are interpreted by various commentators as simple second person singular imperative forms (which are not normally used to denote respect) though in certain cases the addressee is a person respect.

ceṇmo: perumavem viḷavuṭai na:ṭṭeṇa

'Oh great chief! go to my festiuous country' PR 381-5

...vammo: ka:talan to:li

'Oh! my dear girl friend come! PR 281-7

maḷikam vammo: maṭappo: ro:ye:

'Oh man of great war! come! we will rejoice PR 364-8

In places like the above it is interpreted by making use of *-ai* atleast in one case (364-8) as *varuva:y* come-you (new commentary . In 281-7 the optative form *varuka* 'May you come!' is made use of. In 381-5 singular form *cel* 'go' is used.

This raises a question whether these forms (*-m*, *-mo:* *-me:*, *-mati*) have to be taken really as plural/honorific singular forms and they denote Plural and honorific singular respectively. Quite contrary to our expectation that in the vast majority of the cases these forms are found to co-occur with *ni:* (see also under *-me:* and *-mati*) and they also occur with ordinary second person singular forms like *vantaṇai*, 'came-you (Sg)' *cellal* '(you) don't go' etc. This will naturally lead one to think that these forms can be taken as denoting singular and not plural or honorific singular. But it is very hard to come to this conclusion because nowhere in OT *-m* denotes singular and it is quite contrary to the accepted view that *-m* denotes plural (refer U.V. Swami natha Iyer, as already cited). No one has ever suspected this as a simple singular form and many including U.V. Swaminatha Iyer, P.S. Subrahmanya Sastri (1934:178-79) have categorically said that

this is a plural form. It is also true that in atleast three places as shown above it occur with plural subjects and this also supports the view that this has to be taken as plural and not as ordinary singular.

But what about its co-occurrence with *ni*? One can venture to suggest that in OT (unlike in MOT where *ni* and *ni:r* are contrasted) both *ni* and *ni:r* are used to denote first degree (slight) respect, though *ni* is used as a simple second person singular pronoun and *ni:r* as a second person plural pronoun also. We will return to this question later.

In this connection mention has to be made that TOL has not said anything about *-m* though he has given *-miṇ* as a plural marker. But he (Cut. 759) has listed *-mo* as the second person expletive and it is true, as conjectured by Varadarajan (1954 : 249) and Isreal (1973 : 180) that it is due to wrong segmentation. But one can also argue that since *-mo* occurs very often with *-ni* TOL has considered it as an expletive instead of segmenting it *m + o*, taking *-m* as a plural marker. However, there are many occurrences of *-m* as in *yam*, *tam* etc. without *-o* which do not lend any support to TOL to consider *-mo* as an expletive. It is also to be noted that he has said (Cu. 934) *e* is to be considered as an expletive in *ceymme*, etc. where it seems that *-m* is to be considered as a part of the imperative form.

As already pointed out *-m* in *-mo*, *-me* etc. denote honorific singular and *-o* and *-e* are mere expletives. It has been suggested by Varadarajan (which is also followed by Israel) that *o* is to be taken as an interrogative marker and the resultant interrogative expression is used as polite imperative. It is true, as argued by Isreal (1976:40), that very often interrogative expressions are also used to denote imperative. Expressions like

ni: varukiṭa:ya: Do you come?

etc. are sometimes used in the imperative sense. But the issue here is whether *-o* in *-mo* expressions is to be taken as an interrogative. It is certain that *-e* in *ceyme* is considered as expletive and TOL (934) has rightly said that *e* is an expletive. All the commentators are also of the opinion that *-e* is an expletive and we also agree with them and we will return to this question later. Likewise, there is nothing wrong in considering *-o* also as an expletive.

It is true that TOL has not listed the expletive meaning as one of the meanings of *-o* in *cu:t ram* 741 where he deals with *-o*. But mention has to be made that *-o* is found to occur in OT as an expletive.

Examples like

<i>no:ko: ya:ne</i>	"I suffer"	AK 270-15
<i>ni:yo: peruma</i>	"peruma! you"	PR 2-12
<i>tarukuvan on:to</i>	"(he) will give only that one!"	PR 32-2

can be found innumerable in OT and this has prompted other grammarians like Pavananthi to include expletive meaning as one of the meanings of *o* in *cu:tram* 423.

It is also to be pointed out that *-o* is found to have been added to *-miṇ* which is already either plural imperative or an honorific imperative marker. *-o* here is generally taken as an expletive not as an interrogative marker.

<i>vammiṇo:</i>	you (pl) come!	PR 32-6
<i>piriyanmiṇno:</i>	you (pl) do not part!	AK 217-14
<i>puṇarmiṇno:</i>	you (pl) join!	NR 224-4
<i>arimiṇno:</i>	you (pl) know!	CIL 15-189
<i>ka:ṇmiṇno:</i>	you (pl) see!	MM 3-145

It has been said by many that *-m* denotes plural (and honorific singular also) and it is expected to cooccur with second person plural pronouns like *ni:yi:r*, or *ni:vi:r* or *ni:r*. But it is

found to occur in majority of the cases with *ni:*. There seems to be only two alternatives, either *ni:* to be considered as denoting 'respect' or *-m* is to be taken as singular marker. Both the decisions are contrary to what we have been told by the grammarians. *-m* does not denote singular anywhere as has been pointed out earlier and *ni:* has never been thought of being used as honorific singular. This might have prompted TOL to circumvent this situation by saying that *mo:* is second person expletive, and there is nothing wrong in *ni:* occurring with *va:*, *ke:*! etc. without *-mo:* as they are all singular imperative. But this does not solve the problem in any way because *-m* is found in other expressions like *vamme:*, *vam* etc. as shown above.

A careful analysis of the occurrences these expressions will show that *-m* denotes not only some sort of respect but some kind of intimacy also. It is used by fellow poets girl friends etc. It is also used with someone whom the speaker is not sure of the status of the addressee say when a poet addresses a king and vice versa. In this kind of dilemma they make use of the termination *-m*. This may explain why with one and the same person, as pointed already, terminations like *-ai*, (which are used to denote common singular). and *-m* are used.

This is also confirmed from the use of *ni:*, *niḡ*, 'your (sing)' (common singular oblique form) and *num* your (pl Hon) when referring to one and the same person in many of the poems in OT.

... .. *numkuṭi va:ṭṭiṇar*
ninatenavilai ni: perumittaiṭaye:

'I praise your (Pl/hon) clan there is nothing that you can be proud of' PRD 122-7-10

Similar use of both *ni:* and *num* are found in many OT texts (PR 203-5; PT 63.14-15; AK 210; 346, NR 172; KL 93; PAR XX 75-85 CIL 25-152; 166)

Similarly there are many instances where *niḡ* and *num* are also used while referring to one and the same person.

ninno:ranna nin putalvar

... .. *num*

ponnuṭai neṭunakar vaitta niḡ

munno:r

'Your (sing) sons are like you (Sing.) your (Sing) ancestors

who have founded your (Pl) city.....

PR 198-14-17

This kind of use of both *niḡ* and *num* can be found in several instances (PR 122.6, 192.15, AK 52. 9-10, 1306, 376, 346).

This shows clearly that with one and the same person *ni:*, *niḡ*, and *num* are found to have been used. There is some kind of inconsistency and both the singular pronoun and the honorific singular pronoun (*num*) are used.

It is well known that in MOT *ni:r* you (Hon) is used to denote the first degree respect and *ni:ṅka!* 'you (pl/hon. sing)' the second degree respect and *ta:ṅka!* 'you (Hon) sing' the highest degree respect and it is reflected in the pronominal terminations also. *ni:r* co-occur with *-i:r* and *um* and *ni:ṅka!* and *ta:ṅka!* with *-i:ṅka!* and *uṅka!* as in

<i>ni:r vantt:r</i>	'you came (Hon)' (First degree)
<i>ni:r va:rum</i>	'you come (Hon)'
<i>ni:mka! va:rumka!</i>	'you come (Hon)' (Second degree)
<i>ta:mka! va:rumka!</i>	(Highest degree)

ni:r is used with the persons to whom the speaker does not like to give much respect and also with whom he is not sure of his status in relation to that of him. For example when some one is socially inferior but at the same time he is sufficiently elder than the speaker *ni:r* is used.

In OT it is very often found that *ni:r* is used with the person whose social superiority is not very well defined. It is found to occur in 29 places

out of which 12 denote plural and 17 denote the so called honorific singular. Instances like

ni:r pa:ñiñ celiñe:

'if you (pl) go singing,, PR 110-6

.....*ni:rum*

mañmuḷa: amaimin

you (pl) also fix the drum, PR 152-13

ceñtu ni:r avañira:ki

if you (pl) go and stay there, AK 271-9

ni:r uraimin

you (pl) teñ, IN 397-4

a:ñku ni:r po:m

you (pl) go, MM 6-26

show plural [also KL 143-13, CIL 10-53, 13-14, 10-21, 27-239, MM 6-26, 26-14], *ni:r* cooccurs with *-ir*, *-min* and *-m*. There are many instances like

.....*ni:r*

.....*ni:ppin*

'if you (Hon) leave, KL 4-23-24

ni:r urai cey ni:rmaiyl

the way in which you speak (Hon)

PAR 8-73

.....*ni:r*

.....*a:kutir*

'you (Hon) have something TK 1319

añikaḷ ni:re: aruḷuka

'Oh saint! you please do CIL P. 62

va:ñku ni:r muttenru

'you (Hon) buy pearl CIL 10-62

eytuvir ni:re:

'you (Hon) will get CIL 11-103

irumin ni:r

'you (Hon) stay! CIL 16-124

show honorific singular (also KL 5-15, 5-19, 9-11, 25-17, TK 13-19, 1320 CIL 10-88, 11-74, 11-123). In the case of honorific singular also we find that it occurs with *-ir*, *-ka*, *-um*, *-min*. Though it is not possible to say from the above

examples whether *ni:r* denotes first degree respect or not there are a few instances in OT where *ni:* and *ni:r* and *num* 'your (PL/Hon)' are used with one and the same person. In KL 5 both *ni:* and *ni:r* are made use of with one and the same person.

irantu ni:r ceyyum porulinum

.....*arintinir*.....

KL 5-5

ni: ni:ppin va:lvaḷo:

KL 5-15

.....*purintanai*.....

.....*ni: celya*.....

KL 5-19

This can also be seen in another verse in KL (25) where we find *ni:r* (you (Hon)'), *ni:* (you (sing)), *nin* (your (sing)) *nin* your (sing) with reference to one and the same person.

ni:r oru na:ñ ni:r

... ..

... ..

ya:n nin

ni: nañkañintanai

... .. *nin*

KL 17-27

This kind of usage of *ni:* and *ni:r* clearly show that both *ni:* and *ni:r* are used to denote first degree respect.

It has been shown already that though *ni:* cooccurs with *-ai*, *-ay* etc. it also takes *-m* as its termination as shown above. *ni:r* also occurs with *-m* though it occurs with other terminations like *-ir*, *-min* etc. It shows that though *ni:* and *ni:r* take separate terminations, *-m* is found to be common and it occurs with both *ni:* and *ni:r*. *ni:* is found to have been used as a honorific singular pronoun together with *ni:r* and that is why both of them co-occur with *-m*. In the course of the history of the Tamil language *ni:r* has come to be used exclusively as honorific singular pronoun of first degree respect.

-m is found to occur with *-o:* in many OT texts

Plural

ceñmo: (you) [pl] go

PR 333-7

vammo: (you) [pl] come PR 221-10
others : nil

Singular

vammo: (you) come PR 180-9
ceṇmo: (you) go KR 236-2
ceṇmo: (you) go AK 132-8
uraimo: (you) say IN 66-1
eḷumo: (you) rise NR 93-6
kaḷaimo: (you) remove KL 133-19
ceṇmo: (you) go PP 4-45

	Singular	Plural
PR	6	2
KR	2	0
PT	1	0
AK	6	0
IN	11	0
NR	2	0
KL	1	0
PAR	0	0
PP	1	0
TK	0	0
CIL	0	0
MM	0	0

2.4.2.5

"vanti:m" type

-m is also found in constructions like

vanti:m come
cella:ti:m don't go
irunti:mo: be (there)
ṇemukka:ti:mo: don't trouble
ceppa:ti:me: don't speak
marava:ti:me: don't forget

etc. also where we find verbal participle like *vantu*, *cella:tu*, *iruntu*. after which we find -i:m. It is added to both positive and negative participles like

vantu having come
iruntu having
cella:tu without going
ceppa:tu without speaking
marava:tu without forgetting

etc. This kind of construction agrees with modern constructions like

vantirunta:n has come-he
vantarūḷina:n has come-he (respect)
ka:ṇaitoḷi don't see (contempt)

etc. which are considered as auxiliary verbal constructions. This raises a question whether the above constructions in OT are also the auxiliary verbal constructions.

It is to be noted that all the above constructions are only imperatives and they are used in the future. Segmenting them as

verbal participle + -i:m

fits perfectly well with the imperative constructions and there is no harm in taking -i:m as an auxiliary.

Another alternative interpretation one can suggest is to take them as indicative expressions, used in the imperative sense taking -i:m as the second person plural honorific singular marker in par with -ir and i:r. It is alright with the negative forms

cella:ti:m don't go-you
ceppa:ti:m don't tell-you

etc. They can be taken as indicative forms as

va:ra:ti don't come-you (sg)
vara:tir don't come-you (pl)

which are used as imperatives as they denote non-past. But it must be pointed out that nowhere else -i:m is used as a second person indicative marker except in the imperative expressions like the above. -i, -i:r, -ir etc. are found to be used

in indicative expressions and they are used as imperative in a few occurrences. But this is not so in the case of *-i:m* and therefore it has to be considered as imperative marker rather than indicative.

Another important objection to consider them as indicative expressions is due to the fact that the positive forms like

<i>vanti:m</i>	come
<i>irunti:mo:</i>	be (there)

cannot be used as imperative. *vanti:m* as indicative expression means only 'came-you (pl)' and this cannot be used as imperative at all. It is true that *-i:m* is found to occur as second person plural indicative marker in Kannada, another Dravidian language. But this does not in any way helps us to consider it as the indicative marker.

In this connection mention has to be made that in KL there are many instances where *i:ya:y* and *i:va:y* 'give-you (Sg)' are used as auxiliary.

<i>kaḷainti:ya:y</i>	you will remove	KL 100-23
<i>ka:ḷi:ya:y</i>	you don't show	KL 144-20
<i>ve:ḷi:ya:y</i>	you desire	KL 93-16
<i>vanti:ya:y</i>	come	KL 114-5

they are interpreted as

<i>va:ra:y</i>	come
----------------	------

by the commentators. The verb *i:* is also used in the third person as auxiliary in the following

<i>aḷinti:ya:r</i>	those who will	
	not know	PR 136-10
<i>vanti:ya:n</i>	will not come-he	KL 71-10
		71-14
		71-18
<i>aḷini:min</i>	know-you	CIL 8-63

It shows that in OT *i:* was used as an auxiliary and there is nothing wrong in taking *-i:m* as such

<i>irunti:mo:</i>	you stay	PR 319-9
<i>ceyti:mo:</i>	you do	PR 145-7
<i>karainti:me:</i>	you call	IN 391-6
<i>ninri:mo:</i>	you stand	NR 45-8
<i>vanti:mo:</i>	you come	NR 156-6
<i>ceppi:m</i>	you tell	KL 93-10
<i>ka:ḷi:mo:</i>	you show	KL 144-19
		144-43
		147-28
<i>centi:mo:</i>	you go	64 29
<i>paḷi:mo:</i>	you disappear	KL 147-34
<i>pukki:mo:</i>	you enter	KL 71-23
		78-24

negative

<i>marava:ti:me:</i>	don't forget	PR 198-27
<i>ceppa:ti:me:</i>	don't tell	AK 52-15
<i>cella:ti:m</i>	don't go	AK 300-18
<i>ñemukka:ti:mo:</i>	you don't trouble	AK 60-8
<i>viraiya:ti:me:</i>	don't hurry	IN 364-4
<i>marava:ti:me:</i>	don't forget	IN 117-4
		473-3
<i>maraiya:ti:me:</i>	don't hide	IN 64-4
		370-4
<i>valla:ti:mo:</i>	let you be not able	IN 149-3
<i>valla:ti:me:</i>	„	IN 304-5
<i>cella:ti:m</i>	you don't go	NR 229-3
<i>payirra:ti:me:</i>	you don't utter	NR 83-9
<i>varutta:ti:me:</i>	you don't trouble	NR 193-9
<i>marava:ti:me:</i>	you don't forget	NR 323-11
<i>va:ra:ti:mo:</i>	you don't come	NR 336-11
<i>aḷa:ati:mo:</i>	you don't weep	NR 13-2

i: means 'give' as a main verb and it means 'help' as an auxiliary. But this is not felt by the commentators and they have given only the meaning of the main verb with which *i:* occurs.

2.4.2.6.

'vanticin' type

There are a few occurrences of the type *vanticin* 'you [sing] come' in OT which is also used as imperative. It must be noted that these expressions invariably have the past participle + *icn*

which prompts one to think that it has something to do with the auxiliary constructions. Though the past verbal participle form is found in the expressions they are all used as imperative which denotes only future. But the difficulty is *-icin* (or *-cin*) is not found to have been used anywhere in the OT texts as a verb and even if there is any it is beyond any recognition. Israel (1973: 179) connects it with *ikum*. Though one can doubt whether it can be connected with *ikum* it is sure that this has to be treated as an auxiliary which is beyond any trace. TOL lists *-cin* as a second person expletive in cut. 759.

Expressions with *-icin** takes *ni:* as subjects as in

<i>ni:yum.....</i>	
.....	
..... <i>va:itticin</i>	
you make (it),	PR 180-13
<i>a:lal a:n:icin ni:ye: ...</i>	
Don't be immersed in distress;	
you be patient,	AK 69-4
- <i>a:n:icin ni:ye: ..</i>	
"you be patient,	AK 267-4

[*ni:* is also found to have been used as subject in NR 332-5, PP 8-341]

It is used with people of respect which can be seen from the vocative expressions like *peruma*

O! chief' (PR 202-16, IN 85-4) '*annai*' mother, etc. IN 105-1, 106-1)

pun col no:r:icin peruma
'Oh chief! please bear my words', PR 202-16
annai va:li.....

.....	
..... <i>kan:icin</i>	
'Oh mother! see this',	IN 105-4
<i>icin</i> is also used with equals.	
..... <i>to:li</i>	
..... <i>kan:icin.....</i>	
'Oh girl friend! see (that)',	KR 249-5

kan:icin pa:na

'Oh bard! see (this), KR 359-1

It is also used with slightly inferiors

.....*amma*

kan:icin va:liyo: kurumaka!

'Oh young girl! hear this', AK 99-11

kan:icin makale:

'Oh my daughter! see (this)', AK 369-1

<i>a:n:icin</i>	you leave out,	PR 289-7
<i>no:r:icin</i>	you tolerate,	PR 202-16
<i>va:itticin</i>	you make,	PR 180-13
<i>kan:icin</i>	you see,	KR 112-5
		KR 240-5
		KR 249-5
		KR 359-1
<i>kan:lein</i>	you know,	KR 220-7
<i>a:n:icin</i>	you keep quite,	AK 69-4
<i>a:n:icin</i>	you desist,	AK 237-8
		AK 267-4
<i>kan:icin</i>	you see,	AK 99-11
		AK 369-1
<i>a:n:icin</i>	you be pacified	IN 430-4
<i>kan:icin</i>	you see,	IN 105-4
	you know,	IN 106-4
<i>van:icin</i>	you come	IN 175-3
<i>a:n:icin</i>	you be pacified,	NR 286-6
	you stop,	NR 128-6
	you tell,	NR 332-5
<i>kan:icin</i>	you see.	NR 202-8

3.0.

Infinitive

There are four markers viz. *-a*, *-iya*, *-iyar*, and *-ma:r* in OT denoting infinitive. With these four *va:n* and *pa:n* are also made use of in NR (1) and KL (2) though there are altogether only three occurrences of them. *-pa:kku* is not made use of as an infinitive marker though it is used in some other meaning in TK. The infinitives *-a:ka* and *ca:ka* are found to have lost *-ka* in several occ-

urrences and are attested as *a:* and *ca:* respectively in a few texts in OT.

3.1.

-a

Of all the markers *-a* is found to be far predominant than any other markers in OT texts. It must be said that *-a* as an infinitive marker, denotes various meanings like purpose, simultaneousness, cause and effect. It is added to all verb stems and we find that either *-pp-* or *-kk-* is added to the roots of the so called strong verbs, though the latter is found to be very less common in OT. Similarly either *-k-* or *-p-* is added to the middle verbs. But mention has to be made here that *-pp-* outnumbers *-kk-* and it is found that *-pp-* occurs in about eight hundred instances whereas *-kk-* in forty six only.

In PT we find *-a*, *-iya*, and *iyar* as infinitive markers and *-a* is found to occur in 169 instances. Though we find *-pp-* in 31 instances *-kk-* is not found though this can be met in all the other texts except TK.

<i>a!appa</i>	to measure	PT	24-16
<i>aruppa</i>	to cut	PT	11-7
<i>a:ka</i>	to become	PT	21-2
<i>a:ṭa</i>	to dance	PT	23-8
<i>ninaikka</i>	to think	PR	70-19
<i>arkka</i>	to shout	KR	17-3
<i>parakka</i>	to spread	AK	15-14
<i>maṭakka</i>	to forget	IN	470-5
<i>muṇakka</i>	to hurry	NR	114-2
<i>kaipaṭukka</i>	to catch	KL	65-16
<i>ilaikka</i>	to construct	PAR	XIX-55
<i>eṭukka</i>	to bear	PP	6-215
<i>aḷikka</i>	to give	CIL	9-5
<i>uruvikka</i>	to make understand	MM	30-87
<i>e:ṭpa</i>	to get	PT	64-5
<i>ke:ṭpa</i>	to hear	PT	70-23

	<i>a</i>		
	<i>φ</i>	<i>-pp-</i>	<i>-kk-</i>
PR	675	142	5
KR	143	26	1
PT	130	31	0
AK	1641	83	2
IN	111	23	1
NR	107	31	1
KL	817	127	3
PAR	249	37	6
PP	559	149	2
TK	130	3	0
CIL	488	96	10
MM	469	43	15

It has been said that *a:ka* and *ca:ka* lose the final syllable *-ka* and stand as *a:* and *ca:*. In many of the OT texts they are found and TOL (209) has also mentioned about this change.

<i>a:</i>	<i>a:ka</i>	KR	1
<i>a:</i>	<i>a:ka</i>	KL	37
<i>ca:</i>	<i>ca:ka</i>	KL	1
<i>a:</i>	<i>a:ka</i>	PP	2
<i>ca:</i>	<i>ca:ka</i>	TK	1
<i>a:</i>	to become	TK	17

3.2.

-iya

-iya is found to occur after the verb stems, as found in *ceyyiya*, *ka:ṇiya*, *uṇarttiya* etc. It is found in all the OT texts, and it always signifies future though it does not have any overt tense markers. This may be the reason why the commentators of TOL (except Ilam) have said that it always denotes future tense.

Mention has to be made here that L. V. Ramaswamy Iyer (1938 : 720) treats both *ceyyiya* and *ceyyiyar* as purposive participles. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri is also of the opinion that "*ceyyiyar*,

ceyyiya and *ceyarku* denote the purpose" (1945 : 186).

Forms like the following can be found in OT texts.

<i>unarttiya</i>	in order to make them work	PR	28-9
<i>ka:ṇiya</i>	in order to see	KR	111-7
<i>uṇi:ya</i>	in order to make someone eat	PT	21-9
<i>uṇi:ya</i>	in order to make someone eat,	AK	88-2
<i>celliya</i>	in order to go	IN	378-1
<i>uṇi:ya</i>	in order to eat	NR	73-3
<i>uṇi:ya</i>	in order to eat	PP	10-54
<i>uṇṇiya</i>	in order to drink	KL	85-22
<i>ka:ṭṭiya</i>	in order to show	TK	1313
<i>ka:ṇiya</i>	in order to see	CIL	16-159
<i>uṇi:ya</i>	in order to eat	MM	18-60

It is true that in majority of the cases, it is used in the purposive meaning. Yet there are a few cases in OT (KR 2, AK 1, NR 5, and GIL 1) where it is used in the meaning of 'effect'

<i>na:ṇiya</i>	so as to be abashed	KR	10-5
<i>va:ṭṭiya</i>	so as to fade	KR	309-3
<i>peṭi:ya</i>	so as to get	AK	242-15
<i>pa:ra:ṭṭiya</i>	so as to praise	NR	307-4

In KL and PAR it is also used in the meaning of simultaneousness at least in one occurrence each.

<i>vanti:ya</i>	while coming	KL	93-3
<i>ka:ṇiya</i>	while seeing	PAR	X-46

	<i>-iya</i>			
	<i>purpose</i>	<i>effect</i>	<i>siml</i>	<i>Vbnoun</i>
PR	7	0	0	0
KR	13	2	0	0
PT	3	0	0	1
AK	31	1	0	0
IN	17	0	0	0
NR	10	5	0	0
KL	29	0	1	0
PAR	0	0	1	0
PP	3	0	0	0
TK	3	0	0	0
CIL	2	1	0	0
MM	7	0	0	0

3.3.

-iyar

Like *-iya*, *iyar* is also found to occur after the verb stems as found in *ka:ṇiyar*, *eṇiyar*, *va:ṭṭiyar* etc. but it is not as common as *-iya*. It is not attested in PR, PP, PAR, TK and CIL. The following table shows this phenomenon very clearly. It is to be noted that in none of the EOT texts *-iyar* is found to occur.

	<i>-iya</i>	<i>-iyar</i>
PR	6	2
KR	15	5
PT	2	8
AK	36	15
IN	17	3
NR	17	8
KL	30	2
PAR	0	0
PP	3	0
TK	3	0
CIL	3	0
MM	7	0

As mentioned earlier, this form is also listed by TOL. in Cu. 713 and the commentators like Nacc. are of the opinion that it also denotes always future tense. As has already been mentioned as in the case of *-iya*, here also we do not find any overt tense markers.

Like *-iya*, *-iyar* also is used to denote purpose, effect and simultaneousness though purposive meaning is very predominant. It is also to be mentioned that it is also used in one or two instances as pure verbal nouns with *ve:n̄ṭum*.

Purpose

<i>uṇi:iyar</i>	in order to realise	PR 174-19
<i>ila:iyar</i>	in order to make	KR 85-3
<i>uṇi:iyar</i>	in order to eat	PT 36-7
<i>uṇi:iyar</i>	in order to wear	AK 59-5
<i>tari:iyar</i>	in order to give	IN 463-4
<i>ka:ṇiyar</i>	in order to see	NR 248-5
<i>toṇi:iyar</i>	in order to touch	KL 94-35

Simultaneousness

<i>celi:iyar</i>	when someone goes	IN 215-2
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effect

<i>kaḷaiiyar</i>	so as to remove	NR 137-6
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Verbal noun

<i>uṇi:iyar</i>	the act of eating	KR 27-4
<i>uṇi:iyar ve:n̄ṭum</i>	someone likes eating	
<i>koṇi:iyar</i>	the act of giving	KR 51-5
<i>koṇi:iyar ve:n̄ṭum</i>	someone likes giving	
	[someone] in marriage	
<i>celi:iyar</i>	the act of going	AK 326-8
<i>celi:iyar ve:n̄ṭum</i>	someone likes going	

celi:iyar the act of going NR 390-6

celi:iyar ve:n̄ṭum some one likes going

It is also to be mentioned that *-iyar* form occurs as finite verbs also and it is found to occur in many of the OT texts like PR, KR, AK, IN etc.¹

<i>iri:iyar</i>	let it end!	PR 210-9
<i>iri:iyar eṇ uyir</i>	let my life end!	
<i>ke:ḷiyar</i>	let you (Sg.) listen to!	PR 397-8
<i>ke:ḷiyar..... ma:ṛpa</i>	let you (<i>ma:ṛpa</i>) listen to!	
<i>paṇi:iyar</i>	let it experience!	AK 145-14-22
<i>kaṭunavai paṇi:iyar.....</i>		
.....		
.....		
.....	<i>alaitta kaiye:</i>	
	let the hands suffer	
<i>paṇi:iyar</i>	= let (them) sleep,	IN 142-3
<i>paṇi:iyareṇ kaṇṇe:</i>	= let my eyes sleep!	
<i>iri:iyar</i>	let (them) break!	KR 169-2
<i>teriteṇa iri:iyaro:</i>		
.....	<i>...yenite:</i>	
	let my teeth break!	
<i>paṇi:iyar</i>	let (them) suffer!	NR 58-4
.....	<i>paṇi:iyar.....</i>	
.....		
.....		
.....	<i>ma:ve:</i>	
	let the horses suffer!	
<i>va:ḷiyar</i>	let (you) prosper!	MM 19-158

It is also to be noted that *-iyar* is used as a verbal participle at least in one place in OT texts (NR 151-9)

<i>celi:iyar</i>	having gone,	NR 151-10
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¹ PR 210-9, 397-8; KR 40-1, 110-2, 169-2, 169-6, 139-6; AR 145-14; IN 312-1, 142-3, 450-4, 450-2, 294-3; NR 58-4, 286-4; MM 19-158.

<i>iyar</i>						
Purposive	effective	simultane- ousness	VP	Verbal nouns	FV	
PR	2	—	—	—	—	2
KR	6	—	—	—	2	5
PT	10	—	—	—	—	1
AK	14	—	—	—	1	1
IN	1	—	1	—	—	7
NR	6	1	—	1	2	2
KL	2	—	—	—	—	—
PAR	—	—	—	—	—	—
PP	—	—	—	—	—	—
TK	—	—	—	—	—	—
CIL	—	—	—	—	—	—
MM	—	—	—	—	—	1
	41	1	1	1	1	19

3.4.

-ma:r

It has been already mentioned that *-ma:r* is used in OT as a human plural marker.

-ma:r is also used as an infinitive marker which is always found to occur after the verb stems. It is true that in expressions like *pa:ṭanma:r emare*: 'my people will not sing' *-ma:r* is found to occur after the negative *-al-*. *-ma:r* is found to occur in all OT texts except IN TK and MM. In CIL, it occurs only once and therefore this can also be considered as an early Old Tamil feature. Unlike other infinitive markers *-ma:r* always denotes purpose.

<i>iṭuma:r</i>	in order to do	PR	325-8
<i>taruma:r</i>	in order to bring	KR	216-1
<i>niṭuma:r</i>	in order to establish	PT	81-13
<i>uymma:r</i>	in order to sell	AK	207-3
<i>ayarma:r</i>	in order to feed	NR	258-4
<i>koṇma:r</i>	in order to have	KL	75-2
<i>puṇarma:r</i>	in order to join with	PAR	XI-67
<i>aṭima:r</i>	in order to know	PP	10-394
<i>koṭuma:r</i>	in order to give	PP	6-459
<i>ka:ṇma:r</i>	in order to see	CIL	28-29

Mention has to be made here that TOL has not listed *-ma:r* as one of the markers of the verbal participle in Cu 713. On the contrary it has mentioned it as a finite verb termination not only in Cutram 692 viz.

ma:raik kiṭaviyum pallo:r paṭarkkai
ka:lak kiṭaviyoṭu muṭiyum eṇpa

-ma:r also denotes third person human plural; it is always in construction with a verb" but also in Cu 490 in which it lists three markers viz. *a:r*, *-ṭa* and *-ma:r*. According to the commentators of TOL, *-ma:r* has to be considered only as a finite verb termination and not as a verbal participle marker. Whether this has also to be treated as a verbal participle marker has been a controversial issue and this has been taken up not only by various commentators of TOL but also by other Tamil traditional grammars like Nannul (327). Cen (Cu. 207), one of the commentators of TOL is very emphatic in saying that *-ma:r* as in *koṇma:r vanta:r* etc. is used only as a finite verb ending and not as a verbal participle marker. He says that since *-ma:r* is in construction with verb it should not be considered that *-ma:r* expression has been changed to participle. Dei (Cu. 201) also argues in the same way saying that since '*ceyku*' and *-ma:r* expressions show number gender distinctions they cannot be considered as participles. According to him both *ceyku* and *-ma:r* expressions denote number gender distinctions. It has been argued by the present author elsewhere Agesthalingom and Murugaiyan, (1972 pp. 207-230) that while we find number gender concord invariably in all the occurrences of *ceyku* in OT texts this is not the case with *-ma:r* expressions and we will return to this question later.

Kal (Cu. 210), another commentator of TOL is also of the same opinion saying that though *-ma:r* expressions are in construction with verbs they are still to be considered as finite verbs and in no way that will be treated as participles.

But a close scrutiny of the occurrences of *-ma:r* in OT texts clearly show that *-ma:r* has to be treated not only as a third person human plural termination but as a infinitive marker as well.

In the whole of OT texts we find about eighty seven occurrences of *-ma:r* out of which seven are found to occur with various nouns denoting human plural.

<i>to:li:ma:r</i>	AK 15-9; 48-5
<i>an:nai:ma:r</i>	PR 342-15; 345-12; 353-17
<i>ayyan:ma:r</i>	KL 107-35

There are two occurrences in CIL too.

<i>ta:yma:r</i>	CIL 24-9-1
<i>pa:vai ma:r</i>	CIL 29-27-5

But in majority of the cases it occurs with verbs as in:

<i>a:uma:r</i>	to get rid off	PR 93-5
<i>ayarma:r</i>	to eat	KR 155-6
<i>u:nma:r</i>	they who will eat	PR 170-4
<i>te:uma:r</i>	will drive-they	PT 27-6
<i>ce:nma:r</i>	he (hon) who will go	AK 157-9
<i>mu:ima:r</i>	those who will complete	PP 1-89
<i>en:ma:r</i>	those who will say	PAR XI-155
<i>no:nma:r</i>	will not bear-he	
<i>allar</i>	(Hon.)	NR 208-6
<i>ke:lan:ma:r</i>	will not hear-they	PR 389-17
<i>pa:lan:ma:r</i>	will not sing-they	PR 375-21
<i>ka:nma:r</i>	let them see	PP 6-443
<i>ka:nma:r</i>	to see	CIL 28-29

In the above examples, it is found that *-ma:r* has been found to occur in the infinitive, participial noun and finite verb expressions.

Generally in the infinitive expressions we do not find pronominal terminations and therefore it can have all kinds of subjects as in

<i>avan ceyya vanta:n</i>	He came to do
<i>ava! ceyya vanta:!</i>	She came to do
<i>avar ceyya vanta:r</i>	He (Hon.) came to do

etc. But in many of the cases of *-ma:r*, either the honorific singular or the human plural is found to occur as subjects.

But it has to be noted that in OT texts most of the *-ma:r* expressions have been interpreted by commentators as something like purposive participles. Examples of the following can be found in all the OT texts.

<i>a:uma:r</i>	to get rid off,	PR 93-6
<i>ca:yma:r</i>	to defeat	PR 166-5
<i>pyemma:r</i>	to pour	PR 115-2
<i>ayarma:r</i>	to eat	KR 155-6
<i>taruma:r</i>	to bring	KR 216-1

Note that *a:uma:r*, *ayarma:r* etc. are interpreted as *ni kka:nti* (in order to get rid of) *ayarum poru:tu* (in order to eat) etc. giving the meaning of purpose. Though it is interpreted as purposive participle, it may also be possible to take these expressions as participial nouns if they have honorific plural or human plural subjects. In certain cases *-ma:r* expressions are interpreted by various commentators as *mu:ippa:raki* [KR 309.1] etc. giving the meaning of purpose in a round about way. *ayarma:r* and *taruma:r* are taken as participial nouns, *ayarva:r* 'those who eat' *taruva:r* 'those who give' etc. In OT texts, we find many instances of *-ma:r* with human plural subjects. To quote a few,

-*on:na:r*
on:pai:k ka:unta:r munputalaik ko:nma:r
nacai tara vanta:r PR 15-15
"The enemies have come before your army in order to conquer you".
- avare:, ke:fil vilup poru: taruma:r*.....
.....*ka:pirantore:*, KR 216-1-2
"He [Hon.] has gone to the forest in order to bring good things"
-*te:uma:r*
elvalai makalir telvili icaippir- PT 27-6-7
"If the women make sound in order to drive the birds"

4. *maṭavar*
valla:n patukkalk kaṭavuṭ pe:nma:r
naṭukaṭ pi:li cu:ṭṭi AK 35-7-9
 "The warriors have adorned the 'naṭukaṭ'
 with peacock feathers in order to worship"
5. *ayarma:r*
porroṭi makaṭir puṭaṅkaṭai....., NR 258-4-5
 "The gold bangled women had placed the food
 in order to feed (someone)".
6. *payaṅkoṇma:r*
ciṭanto:r ulakam paṭarunar po:la, PAR XIX-10
 "Like those who go to the celestial world
 in order to gain paradise".
7. *ka:talar*... ..
naṭunkuṭal ka:nma:r nakai kuṟittanare:,
 KL 13-27
 "He said it playfully in order to see
 you trembling".
8. *peruni:r o:ccunar*
naṇantalai te:ettu naṅkaṭaṇ uymma:r
puṇarntuṭaṇ koṇarnta puravi PP 6-321-323
 "The horses which have been brought
 by the shipmen in order to send all
 the good ornaments"
9. *maṭavoor*... ..
kuṭalum ko:ṭaiyum ko:lamum ka:nma:r
niṭalka:n maṇṇilam tammetir niṟutu CIL 28-29
 "The young damsels placed the mirror
 before them in order to see their beauty".

In all the above cases, though purpose meaning is given, it might be possible for us to treat them as participial nouns as there is concord. But this may not be possible in certain cases where we do not find concord at all. In OT texts, we find few instances (KR 173-7, AK 107-3, and 375-12, NR 165-4) where the subject concord is not found.

1. *e:kuma:r uḷene:* KR 173-7
 "I am to go"

2. *kuṭik kaṭaṇ a:kalir kuṭaiyinaṭi muṭima:r*
 "in order to complete the obligation
 of the ryots" AK375-11-13
3. *iṭumpai kaṭaima:r ninnoṭu*
 *en to:liyum varume:* AK 107-3-22
 "My lady friend would come with you
 in order to remove my distress".
4. *kaṭavuṭ o:ṅkuvarai pe:nma:r*... ..
 "to worship the God in the mountain"
 NR 165-4

It is true that in majority of the cases we find concord and only in a very few cases it is not found. This may be one of the reasons why many of the grammarians have gone astray saying that *-ma:r* denotes only the human plural and they have bracketed it with *ceyku* 'will do-I', a first person singular expression. As we have already seen, the cutram (TOL 692)

ma:raikkiṭaviyum pallo:r paṭarkkai;
ka:lakkiṭaviyoṭu muṭiyum enpa

has been interpreted by many as "*-ma:r*" always denotes human plural and it is always in construction with a verb. That is *-ma:r* is always used as a third person plural marker and though it is in construction with verb it should not be considered as verbal participle marker. But we have seen that at least in few places it has to be considered as a purposive infinitive marker and therefore the above interpretation does not hold good. In the light of the above arguments the above cutram can be interpreted as "the expression *-ma:r* also denotes human plural; but unlike other terminations it can also be in construction with a verb" Thereby it can also be an infinitive marker. Note that infinitives are always in construction with verb.

4.0. Optative

In Tamil, optative is made use of to denote mainly the wish of the speaker, though it is also

used to signify request or polite command. As it denotes wish it is used in all the three persons viz. first, second and third persons and it is not inflected to any gender or number. It is also not inflected to any tense though it always occurs in the future. Though the command or the request can be included in the imperative, wish cannot be dealt with under imperative. In Tamil, it is called *viyaṅko:!*. Though in majority of the cases optative expresses a kind of wish of the speaker as in

va:lka May you prosper!

It is also used to denote command as found in

celka Go!

TOL speaks about *viyaṅko:!* in a few cutras viz. 210, 211, 707 and 958. Though he has not defined what *viyaṅko:!* is, he has spoken of a few characteristic features of this category. In *Eḷuttu*, (Chapter on Phonology) when he deals with the sandhi changes of *-a* ending words, he lists *e:val kaṇṇiya viyaṅko:!* 'the optatives, which denote imperative' as one of the items which do not undergo any morphophonemic change before the stop beginning words. The commentators have given examples like:

celka kutirai let the horses go!

celka paṇṇi let the pigs go!

etc.

Mention has to be made here that TOL in Cu. 711 has said that the *viyaṅko:!* is not used either in the second person or in the first person. But a quick perusal of the OT texts shows very clearly that this category has been made use of both in the second and first person though the latter is found to be very less. In the whole of OT texts there are more than fifteen occurrences of optative in the first person and more than 375 occurrences in the second person. Commenting on the cu. Iḷam says that *viyaṅko:!* does occur both in the first and second persons, and gives examples like

ni: varuka May you come!

ni:r celka May you (Hon) go!

ya:n celka May I go!

It is true that optative is found to occur in the first person in a few occurrences as has already been said. But in the second person it occurs in OT in as many as 375 occurrences against 476 of third person. *Ce:n* is also of the opinion that the optatives can occur in the first and second persons though it is found to be very predominant in the third person. He interprets the phrase *maṇṇa:ta:kum* as 'does not occur permanently' and therefore it is not ruled out to occur in the first and second persons. He also gives examples like

ni: va:lka May you prosper!

ya:ṇum ninno:ṭu uḷaṇ uḷaika

May I also live with you!

where the optative is used with second person singular and first person singular pronouns.

Dei on the other hand is of the opinion that such occurrences in the second person can be considered as *maru:*. For him occurrences in the first person do not exist. On the basis of the occurrences of this category in Sangam literature we can safely conclude that at the time of TOL *viyaṅko:!* must have been found very predominant in the third person only which might have prompted him to exclude first and second persons.

In PT. optatives are not found to occur in the first person though there are few occurrences in other OT texts viz. PR (6), KR (2), AK (1), NR (3), PAR (5) and CIL (3).

Examples like¹

avar puṭam ka:ṇe: na:yṭṭi ciṭanta

pe:ramar uṇkaṇ iyaḷiṇum piṛika

'If I don't defeat them let me depart from her',

PR 71-5

1 See also PR 71-9; 72-12; 306-5, 379-1, NR 275-7, PAR XI-117; XI-119; XVII-53; XVIII-56, CIL 23-183; 27-178.

<i>perukatil amma ya ne:</i>	
'May I get (her)',	KR 14-3
..... <i>penṭi ya:n a:kuka</i>	
'May I become a woman'	AK 203-18
<i>paṭukatil amma ya:n</i>	
'May I die',	NR 277-2
<i>ka:nka na:m ciṛite:</i>	
'May we see a little',	NR 307-10
..... <i>immurai iyainte:m</i>	
<i>maṭu muṭai yamaiyattu miyalka</i>	
'This time we have accomplished. ay we	
accomplish in the next birth	
too',	PAR XI-139
..... <i>celka ya:n ena</i>	
'May I go',	CIL 25-84
<i>va:liyar ya:n:</i>	
'May I live',	PR 365-9
<i>ya:n a:kiyar</i>	
'May I become',	KR 49-5

show that optatives do occur in the first person both in the singular and plural in OT.

Optatives are found to occur in PT in the second person and it has been said already that in OT texts, there are very many occurrences both in the singular and plural.

<i>ku:ntal viṇaliyar vaṭaṅkuka vaṭuppe:</i>	
'Oh ministrel women!cook the edibles',	
	PT 18-6
..... <i>ce:rala:ta</i>	
<i>ni: va:liyar.</i>	
'Oh Ceralata! may you live long!',	PT 15-24
..... <i>peruma.</i>	
.....	
<i>a:yira veḷḷam va:liya palave.</i>	
'Oh Chief! Live for thousands of years!'	
	PT 21-38

Examples like the above can be multiplied from other OT texts like PR, in which we find a few occurrences with *ni:* 'you' overtly marked.

<i>maṇṇuka peruma ni:ye:</i>	
'May you live long!'	PR 91-7
..... <i>ni:yum</i>	
.....	
..... <i>varuka</i>	
'May you come',	PR 316-8-11
<i>nili:iyarattai ni: nilamical ya:n:</i>	
'May you be permanent on the	
earth!'	PR 166-34.
<i>nili:iyarattai ni:ye:</i>	
'May you be permanent!'	PR 375-16
<i>ni: va:liyar</i>	
'May you live!'	PR 137-14

In PT, as is expected, optatives occur in the third person and this is found in other texts also.

<i>akavalan peruka ma:</i>	
'May the bard get the horses',	PT 43-28
<i>vayiru ma: cili:iyaraya ni:nṛa ta:ye:</i>	
'Let the mother who begot him be without	
any flemish in her womb'	PT 20-28
<i>nin puravi neṭunte:r pu:nka</i>	
'Let your horse be yoked in the chariot',	
	PT 81-32
<i>viṇaliyar pal piṭi peruka</i>	
'Let the ministril women get many she-	
elephants',	PT 43-22
<i>tolaṭiya:ta:ka ni: va:lu na:ḷe:</i>	
'Let the days of your life be countless',	
	PT 70-27

It is to be pointed out here that not only *-iyar* and *-iya* etc. but *-ka* also, unlike what Venkatarajulu Reddiar has said (Venkatarajulu Reddiar, 1939-40), occurs in the first and second persons and this shows that the stand taken by Venkatarajulu Reddiar does not hold good. He is of the opinion that *-ka* does not occur in the first and second persons. As shown above it is also found to occur in the first and second persons. It has

been pointed out already that optatives occur not only denoting wish or benediction but also the polite command, request etc. In the OT texts there are several instances where optatives are made use of denoting command or polite request. In PT the so called optatives are used to denote imperative in par with the forms with *-min*. Examples like

uṇmin kaḷḷe: aṭumin coṛe:
eṛika tiri eṭṭumin pulukke:
 'Drink toddy cook food',
 'cut the meat, put the vegetables on the oven', PT 18-1, 2

show that optatives are also made use of as imperative.

In PT there are 3 markers viz. *-ka*, *-iyar* and *-iya*, denoting optative, though we find *-i* and *-al* in other texts. Of all these *-ka* is the most predominant marker which is followed by *-i* in OT texts; *-iyar* comes next to *-i*.

4.1. -ka

In PT *-ka* is found to occur after

1. various verb stems
2. negative *-al-*

There is a solitary instance of *-a:l* in PR which can be considered as a variant of *-al-*.

It is also noteworthy that *-ka* is found to cooccur with second person and third person as mentioned earlier though first person is not found in PT. *-ka* can be further segmented as *-k-* and *-a-* where *-k-* denotes non-Past. TOL Cu. 210 has listed it as *-a* only. However, *-ka* is taken together as we don't find any non-past marker in the other forms and also in the imperative. *-k-* is also found to occur after negative *-al-*. It is in free variation with other markers *-iya*, *iyar* and *-i-*.

4.1.1.

after verb stems

<i>eṛika</i>	May you cut!	PT 18-2
<i>taruka</i>	May (you-Sg.) bring!	PT 38-14
<i>vaḷaṅkuka</i>	May (you-Pl.) cook!	PT 18-6
<i>varuka</i>	May (they) come!	PT 17-9
<i>peruka</i>	May (it) receive!	PT 43-22
<i>a:ka</i>	May (it) become!	PT 70-27

4.1.2.

after negative *-al-*

<i>va:raṭka</i>	May (you) not come!	KR 198-8
<i>va:raṭka</i>	May it not come!	AK 40-12
<i>va:raṭka</i>	May (he) not come!	NR 85-7
<i>cera:ṭka</i>	May (you) not come!	PAR XX-68
<i>va:ṭaṭka</i>	May (it) not decrease!	PAR VI-106
others	nil	

There is a solitary instance in the OT texts (PR) where we find *-a:l*.

<i>uṛa:ṭka</i>	May it not pierce!	PR 171-13
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4.2.

-iyar

-iyar is found to occur in all the texts except PAR and TK and it cooccurs with first, second and third persons. In the first person it is found only in KR though in the second person it finds its place in PR, KR, PT, AK, NR, PP, CIL and MM.

It occurs after

1. verb stems
2. negative *-a:l-* and *-il-*
3. appellative stems

All these environments can be found in PT. As a matter of fact out of 6 negative occurrences 4 are found in PT one in PR and another in AK.

4.2.1.

after verb stems

<i>va:liyar</i>	May you (Sg.) live!	PT 13-24
<i>ka:niyar</i>	May she see!	PT 44-7
<i>uni:iyar</i>	May they eat!	PT 49-3

4.2.2.

after -il- and -a:l-

<i>ka:niliyar</i>	May they not see!	PT 44-8
<i>i:ro:aliyar</i>	May they not stay!	PT 40-2
<i>tava:aliyar</i>	May it not be deficient!	PT 14-22
<i>a:ra:aliyar</i>	May they not cease!	PT 55-16
<i>tava:aliyar</i>	May it not perish!	AK 338-15

4.2.3.

after appellative stems

<i>ili:iyar</i>	May she not have!	PT 20-28
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As already mentioned, there are two instances of -iyar in the whole of OT texts where it occurs with first person.

<i>va:liyar ya:n</i>	May I prosper!	PR 365-9
<i>ya:n a:kiyar</i>	May I become!	KR 49-5

4.3.

-iya

-iya does not find any place in the first person though there are a few occurrences (PR (7), PT (3), AK (13), NR (7), KL (2), PAR (1), CIL (1), MM (3)) in OT texts in the second person singular and more in the third person. No second person plural optative is attested. It is also worth mentioning that -iya form is not attested with negative markers and all the occurrences are only in the affirmative and this is also the case with -i.

4.3.1.

after various verb stems

<i>ni: ni:tu va:liya peruma</i>	'Oh chief! May you live long!'	PT 88-22
<i>va:liya:ta va:liya palave:</i>	'Oh valiyata! May you live long!'	PT 63-21
... .. <i>poruna</i>		
... ..		
... ..		
... .. <i>va:liya</i> ...		
'Oh king! May you live long!'		PT 21-29-39

Though in PT, -iya does not occur in the third person there are very many occurrences in the other texts and therefore this can be considered as an accidental gap.

<i>va:liya</i>	May he prosper!	PR 9-8
<i>talaiiya</i>	May it rain!	AK 325-12
<i>va:liya</i>	May he live!	IN 249-3
<i>va:liya</i>	May they live!	IN 281-2
<i>va:liya</i>	May it live!	IN 110-5
<i>va:liya</i>	May he live!	NR 136-4
<i>va:liya</i>	May it live!	PP 1-39
<i>va:liya</i>	May it live!	MM 19-142

Note that the -iya in the third person occurs only in six texts though in the second person in eight texts viz. PR, PT, AK, NR, KL, PAR, CIL, and MM.

<i>manniya</i>	May you be permanent!	PR 6-29
<i>va:liya</i>	May you live!	PT 21-38
<i>va:liya</i>	May you live!	AK 47-3
<i>va:liya</i>	May you live!	NR 34-13
<i>va:liya</i>	May you prosper!	KL 96-21
<i>va:liya</i>	May you live!	PAR IX-30
<i>va:liya</i>	May you prosper!	CIL 27-140
<i>va:liya</i>	May you live!	MM 22-18

4.4

i-

-i occurs only after the stem *va:l* 'prosper' and yet it is found in all the texts except PT. It can be safely said that a pattern has been followed in OT Texts and it has been repeated in all the texts. TOL in Cu 211 says that in *va:liya* the final -a, can be dropped and it is true that *va:li* must have come from *va:liya*.

<i>va:li</i>	May you live!	PR	42-8
<i>va:li</i>	May you live!	KR	11-4
<i>va:li</i>	May it live!	AK	19-2
<i>va:li</i>	May it live!	IN	2-1
<i>va:li</i>	May you live!	NR	16-4
<i>va:li</i>	May it prosper!	KL	26-22
<i>va:li</i>	May you live!	PP	2-63
<i>va:li</i>	May you live!	TK	1111
<i>va:li</i>	May you prosper!	CIL	7-2-2
<i>va:li</i>	May you live!	MM	19-146

It is also to be mentioned that this is also found to occur in second and third persons only and first person is not attested in OT texts. Another important thing is that it never occurs in the negative.

There are two occurrences, one in NR and another in PAR where the verb stem *a:-* and *vi/anku* are used as optatives respectively.

It has been said that Nacc (TOL COL. 228) has listed -al, -a:l, *ve:ṇṇum*, -ma:r and -mai as optative markers and examples like

a:kkamoṇu ku:ral
ma:ri:ya tora:al
ka:ṇma:r emar
va:li:tal ve:ṇṇum

etc. have been cited by him.

It is true that -al is made use of as optative in OT both in negative and affirmative and -a:l can be considered as the elongated form of -al.

<i>va:ral</i>	May (you) not come!	KR 258-1
<i>cellal</i>	May you go!	AK 370-8
<i>mappal</i>	May you adorn!	AK 369-11
<i>enāl</i>	May (one) not say!	TK 282
<i>enāl</i>	May one say!	TK 196

ve:ṇṇum, though it expresses the wish, cannot be considered as an optative marker as it is an independent form altogether. -ma:r is only a third person plural marker and it never comes in the other persons.

5.0.

Negative

In Old Tamil (OT) negative is expressed in two ways-

1. syntactically, by making use of negative appellative verbs *al* 'not' and *il* 'not/does not have' in certain periphrastic constructions.
2. morphologically, by adding various suffixes like -al-, -il-, -a:t- etc. to the verbal themes.

5.1.

Syntactic constructions

Though negative is very often expressed morphologically by adding various suffixes to the verbal theme (which has been dealt with by many), periphrastic constructions are also found to have been employed (which has not been dealt with by many) in OT and in these constructions negative appellative verbs *al* and *il* are widely used. In these constructions these verbal bases are fully inflected not only to various pronominal terminations but to other categories as well. While forms like

<i>alle:n</i>	not-I	PR	208-7
<i>alle:m</i>	not-we	PR	31-11
<i>allai</i>	not-you (Sg.)	PR	162-1

<i>allir</i>	not-you	AK	239-12
		NR	376-12
<i>allen</i>	not-I	KR	99-1
<i>alle:m</i>	not-we	PR	31-11
		PT	58-7
<i>alle:n</i>	not-I	PR	208-7
		PT	74-23
<i>allai</i>	not-you	PR	162-1
		KR	47-4
<i>allo:m</i>	not-we, VR	IN	240-1
<i>allo:r</i>	not-they Hum	PR	343-12
<i>allo:l</i>	not-she	AK	212-22
<i>ala</i>	not-they Neut	PT	41-15
<i>alatu</i>	not-only	PR	196-13
<i>alai</i>	not-you	KL	44-13
<i>alan</i>	not-he	KL	68-10

1. *al* is used after various finite verb and participial noun constructions, both past and non past.
2. it is also used after negative finite verb constructions thereby giving positive meaning.
3. it is also used after various appellative verbs.

5.1.1.1.

after various finite verb constructions

While dealing with negative, Caldwell (1856 : 468) said that "In general, the Dravidian negative verb has but one tense which is an aorist or is indeterminate in point of time" and according to him *po:ke:n* 'I go not' means either 'I did not', 'I do not' or 'I will not go'. It is true that negatives in the morphological constructions do not show any time and generally they denote non-past. However, the past is shown (if it has to be indicated clearly) by making use of *al* or *il* in periphrastic constructions. As already mentioned the various inflected forms of *al* are added to past and non-past finite verb forms to show the past and non-past negative respectively

and this device is found to have been employed in OT texts quite successfully.

5.1.1.1.1.

*after past finite verb constructions**I person singular*

maruṭṭanen alle:n I was not astonished
PT 74-23

I person plural

toluṭṭanam allam we did not worship
PR 60-6
kaṇṭṭanam allam we did not see IN 69-1

II person singular

There are three occurrences in the whole of OT texts, one in NR and two in CIL.

ve:ṭṭanai allai you did not desire
NR 395-10
kaitta:yum allai you are not hated
CIL 9-54
kaṇṭṭanai allai you did not see
CIL 28-154

*III person**Masculine singular*

There are five occurrences in the masculine singular PR (1), KR (1), AK (1), IN (1) and CIL (1).

malainto:n allan he did not wear
PR 45-1
niṇaitṭanan allan he did not think
KR 99-2
aḷuṅkinan allan he did not dispense
with AK 66-26
piṇintanān allan he did not depart
IN 18-4
pirinto:n allan he did not part
CIL 14-52

Feminine singular

There are two occurrences of feminine singular in the whole of OT texts one in AK and the other in MM.

<i>arintana! alla!</i>	she did not know	AK 98-6
<i>piranta! alla!</i>	she was not born	MM 18-102

5.1.1.1.2.

after non-past finite verb constructions

I person singular

<i>irankuye:n alle:n</i>	I will not pity	PR 209-13
<i>olve:n allan</i>	I will not agree	PR 346-4
<i>uparkuye:n allan</i>	I will not understand	AK 226-1
<i>viṭukkuye:n alle:n</i>	I will not leave	AK 396-11
<i>irakkuye:n alle:n</i>	I will not beg	IN 159-4
<i>varuntuyan allan</i>	I will not suffer	KL 107-29

I person plural

<i>celye:m alle:m</i>	we will not go	PR 31-11
<i>upkuyam alle:m</i>	we will not eat	PT 58-7
<i>varuntuyam allam</i>	we will not suffer	AK 183-15

II person singular

<i>trukkuyai allai</i>	you will not remain	PR 222-5
<i>irankuyai allai</i>	you will not suffer	AK 379-27
<i>uḷḷuyai allai</i>	you will not think	AK 353-16
<i>eytuyai allai</i>	you will not attain	AK 33-20

<i>varuyai allai</i>	you will not come	IN 233-1
<i>ce:kkuyai allai</i>	you will not stay	NR 254-9
<i>va:ṭuyai allai</i>	you will not suffer	KL 13-21
<i>veruvuyai allai</i>	you will not fear	KL 13-17

*III person**Masculine singular*

There are nine occurrences in OT texts one each in PR, KR, NR, PP and MM and four in KL.

<i>olva:n allan</i>	he will not agree	PR 97-21
<i>tupikuyan allan</i>	he will not dark	KR 230-2
<i>perukuyan allan</i>	he will not get	NR 119-10
<i>vara:tu amaikuye:n allan</i>	he will not come	KL 41-29
<i>tuṭakkuyan allan</i>	he will not leave	KL 41-352
		KL 41-36
<i>viṭukkuyan allan</i>	he will not leave	PP 2-177
<i>putṭpa:n allan</i>	he will not wear	MM 15-13

Feminine singular

There are six occurrences altogether one in KR two in AK and three in KL.

<i>olva:ḷ alla!</i>	she will not agree	KR 43-2
<i>aṇcuya! alla!</i>	she will not fear	AK 158-18
<i>va:ḷkuya! alla!</i>	she will not live	AK 18-10
<i>ka:ykuya! alla!</i>	she will not get angry	KL 79-18
<i>ca:ykuya! alla!</i>	she will not suffer	KL 79-10
<i>pulakkuya! alla!</i>	she will not hate	KL 79-14

Epicene Plural

<i>amaikuyar allar</i>	they will not be content	PR	351-7
<i>amaikuyar allar</i>	they will not subside	IN	461-4
<i>no:nma:r allar</i>	they will not bear	NR	208-6

Neuter Plural

There is only one instance in the whole of OT texts and it occurs in KR.

<i>kaiya:ai co:rkuya alla</i>	bangles will not fall down	KR	282-8
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5.1.1.1.3.

after negative finite verb constructions

I person singular

There are two occurrences in the negative one in KR and other in MM.

<i>on:te:n alle:n</i>	I will unite	KR	208-1
<i>te:te:n alle:n</i>	I will be clear	MM.	21-143

I person plural

There are two occurrences in the OT texts, one each in KR and KL.

<i>ke:le:m alle:m</i>	we will hear	KR	244-3
<i>ka:ne:m alle:m</i>	we will see	KL	9-9

Feminine singular

There is a solitary instance in OT and it is found in PR.

<i>ve:n:ta:! alla!</i>	she will desire	PR	346-2
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5.1.1.1.4.

after various appellative constructions

I person singular

<i>paricilan alle:n</i>	I who do not seek gifts	PR	208-7
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<i>ile:num alle:n</i>	I who have	NR	381-2
<i>ti:ye:n alle:n</i>	I who have no fault	KL	90-17
<i>paricitan alle:n</i>	I who do not seek gifts	CIL	28-171

I person Plural

This is found to occur only in PR and there are three instances.

<i>valle:m alle:m</i>	we who will not be able to know	PR	126-5
<i>ki:ai:na:re:m alle:m</i>	we were not relatives	PR	144-10
<i>pen:fire:m alle:m</i>	we were not of the women	PR	246-10

II person singular

It is found to occur only in IN 1, KL 2 and CIL 1.

<i>kuricilai allai</i>	you are not the lord	IN	480-2
<i>a:yanai allai</i>	you who are not of the cow herds	KL	108-12
<i>ka:viyai allai</i>	you who have not the habit of stealing hearts	KL	108-29
<i>anaiyai allai</i>	you are not similar	CIL	14-58

III person

In the third person only masculine singular alone is attested though theoretically all genders are possible.

Masculine singular

There are eight occurrences, six in PR and two in CIL.

<i>ce:no:n allan</i>	he is not of the distant place	PR	103-5
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<i>malainto:n allan</i>	he who did not wear	PR	45-1
<i>valiyanum allan</i>	he is not of the place	PR	389-7, 8
<i>malaiyan allan</i>	he is not a chief Malaiyan	PR	125-14
<i>teriyalo:n allan</i>	he who is not of the garland	PR	45-2
<i>ceviyan allan</i>	he does not have the fairness	CIL	8-59
<i>ko:lanum allan</i>	he does not have the sceptre	CIL	23-34

In this connection it has to be pointed out that the expressions *allan*, *allen* etc. are found to occur very often with clitics like *-o:*, and they give the opposite meaning as in

<i>uraittanen allano:</i>	did not I tell? I did	IN	280-5
<i>ninaittanen allano:</i>	did not I think of? I did	KR	99-2

But it can be easily shown that without these clitics they give negative meaning. In many of the above examples the clitics have been separated and the negative meanings alone have been given

5.1.2.

il

As mentioned already *il* is also used periphrastically with various verbal constructions to denote negation and it is also inflected to several categories like various pronominal terminations, verbal participle, participial noun etc. Unlike *al* it is also used in the meaning 'not having' besides with the meaning of 'not'. In OT it is found to be inflected as follows.

<i>illa</i>	not having-they	PR	3-17
<i>illatu</i>	that which had not	PR	203-7
<i>illavar</i>	they who have nothing	KL	148-6
<i>illavan</i>	he who has nothing	KL	144-58

<i>illa:</i>	they which had not got	PR	27-3
<i>illa:tavar</i>	they who have nothing	KL	82-33
<i>illa:tu</i>	will not have-it	PR	216-2
<i>illa:y</i>	you who have not	KL	124-18
<i>illa:l</i>	has not got-she	CIL	24-24-4
<i>illa:n</i>	he who has not	KL	8-1
<i>ille:n</i>	I who have not	MM	5-79
<i>illai</i>	not	PR	51-1
		PT	45-18
<i>illo:r</i>	they who had not got	PR	95-8
		MM	13-112
<i>illo:l</i>	she who had not got	PR	279-10
<i>illo:n</i>	he who has not got	PR	69-5
<i>il</i>	not-it	KR	63-1
<i>ila</i>	not-they	PR	191-1
<i>ilatu</i>	has not	PR	286-6
<i>ilam</i>	have not-we	PR	61-17
<i>ilar</i>	have not-they	PR	182-3
<i>illa:l</i>	has not-she	PR	333-13
<i>ilan</i>	has not-he	PR	77-7
<i>ila:</i>	which will not have	PR	363-12
<i>ila:y</i>	don't have-you	CIL	9-16
<i>ila:r</i>	they who do not have	PA	IX-31
		PR	194-5
<i>ila:lan</i>	will not have-he	PR	240-5
<i>ili</i>	he who has not got	KL	42-26
		NR	37-7
<i>ilir</i>	have not-you	CIL	11-177
<i>ile:n</i>	not have-I	PR	29-10
<i>ilai</i>	will not have you	MM	5-56
<i>ilo:m</i>	not have-we	NR	277-4
<i>ilo:y</i>	you who have not		
<i>ilo:r</i>	they who will not have	PR	34-1
		MM	27-94
<i>ilo:n</i>	he who have not		

il is found to occur after

1. positive verbal participles
- and 2. verbal nouns of various types, viz.
 - a. ceytal type
 - b. ceytatu type
 - c. ceytanru type

5.1.2.1.

after positive verbal participle

It has been said that in OT past negative is expressed by making use of positive past finite verb and *al* with various pronominal terminations. But there are a few occurrences in OT where both verbal participle and the appellative verb *il* are used to denote past negative. It is true that these constructions are very limited and in the whole of OT texts there are only sixteen occurrences (PR (1), KR (1), AK (1), KL (1), PAR (2), TK (1), CIL (5), and MM (4)).

I person singular

<i>ilantile:n</i>	I did not loose	KL	146-19
<i>arintile:n</i>	I did not know	PAR	VIII-60
<i>kaṇṇile:n</i>	I did not see	CIL	16-209
<i>eṇṇile:n</i>	I did not think	CIL	21-25
<i>koṇṇile:n</i>	I did not think	MM	23-99
<i>teḷittile:n</i>	I did not perceive	MM	22-95

I person plural

There are four occurrences, one each in AK and CIL and two in MM.

<i>pe:ṇiṇṇilam</i>	we did not consider	AK	346-12
<i>kaṇṇilam</i>	we did not see	CIL	15-144
<i>kaṇṇilam</i>	we did not see	MM	29-81
<i>arintilam</i>	we did not know	MM	22-127

Feminine singular

<i>melintila!</i>	did not suffer-she	KR	182-7
<i>niṇṇila!</i>	did not stand-she	CIL	19-2

Neuter singular

<i>po:rpittilatu</i>	did not make cover-it	PR	286-5
<i>ti:ṇtilatu</i>	did not clear up-it	CIL	5-232

Epicene plural

<i>vantila:r</i>	they did not come	PAR IX-25
<i>keḷi:tyllar</i>	they did not desire	TK 1194

5.1.2.2.

*after verbal nouns of various types**(a) ceytal type*

Generally this type of negative denote habituality, MOT verbal nouns with *illai* 'not' always denote habitual negative.

And this can be seen in examples like:

<i>avan varuvatu illai</i>	he does not come	habitually
<i>avan po:vatu illai</i>	he does not generally go	habitually

In OT also this seems to be the case in majority of the instances.

I person singular

<i>pulattalum ille:n</i>	I do not sulk	NR 340-1
<i>nirral ille:n</i>	I do not stand	KL 145-31
<i>iruttalum ille:n</i>	I do not remain	CIL 23-180
<i>nirralum ilan</i>	I do not stand	CIL 23-180

I person plural

There are six instances, 4 in PR and 2 in KR.

<i>viyattalum ilam</i>	we do not wonder	PR 192-12
<i>ikaḷṭalum ilam</i>	we do not reproach	PR 192-13
<i>viyattalo: ilam</i>	we do not wonder	PR 197-8
<i>inna:tu eṇṇalum ilam</i>	we do not say	PR 192-6

maṇattalum we do not unite or
taṇattalum ilame: depart KR 168-6
va:ṭtal ataṇinum we do not live
ilame: KR 168-7

II person singular

niṭṭalum ilai you do not stand
 PR 69-17

III person

Masculine singular

uṇaṭṭalo: ilan he does not break
 AK 186-17
ta:ṇkalo: ilan he does not bear
 AK 316-10
no:tal ilan he will not suffer
 TK 341
tunpamurūtal ilan he will not suffer
 TK 629

Feminine singular

vaṇuntal ilaḷ she does not suffer IN 422-4

Epicene plural

uṇṭalum ilar they do not even eat
 PR 182-3
tuṇṇalum ilar they will not be even lazy
 PR 182-4
ni:ṭalo: ilar they will not make delay,
 AK 233-14
taṇṭry ilar they will not leave
 AK 237-15
amaṭṭal ilar they do not remain
 AK 357-12
amaṭṭal ilar they do not remain
 IN 463-3

peyartalo: ilar they do not move NR 289-3
kunṭalilar they will not reduce TK 778
ceyṭal ilar they will not do TK 954

b) ceytatu type

truntatu illai they have not remained
 GIL 29-22-1
eḷuntatu illai they have not risen
 CIL 29-22-2

c) ceytanru type

I person singular

There are five occurrences, one each in PR and in PT and three in AK.

to:ṇṭirrum ilan I did not go PR 385-3
eṇṇinro: ilan I did not count PT 77-7
kaḷintanro: vilan ya:n I don't feel sorry
 AK 55-6¹

I person plural

va:ḷak kaṇṭanrum ilam we did not see
 someone living,
 PR 61-17
makiḷntanrum ilam we were not happy
 PR 192-5
ya:m ceytanro: ilam we did not do
 AK 101-18
ya:m atu pe:ṇinro: ilame: we did not consider
 that AK 346-12

II person singular

oḷintanrum ilai you did not even stay
 AK 19-1

III person

Masculine singular

ta:ḷi kaḷaintanrum ilan he did not remove the
 sacred thread PR 77-7

¹ Also see AK 376-16, 394-4

<i>ce:rantan̄to: ilan̄</i>	he did not stay	AK 190-17
<i>ti:n̄nan̄rum ilan̄</i>	he did not leave	PP 8-245
<i>ikantan̄rum ilan̄</i>	he did not pass	PP 8-244 ¹

Epicene plural

<i>pi:tar a:rintan̄rum ilare:</i>	they did not even know	NR 27-6
<i>ku:rin̄rum ilare:</i>	they did not even say it	NR 130-10

Note that *-an̄-* and *-in̄-* occur after the past markers. *-in̄-* is found to occur after *-i-* past and *-an̄-* after other past.

When dealing with this type of constructions under TOL, COL 219, Nac. says that constructions like *'ta:li kaḷaintan̄rumilan̄e: viyant̄an̄rum iḷint̄an̄rum-ilan̄e:* are neuter singular finite forms and they have come from *kaḷaintilan̄, viyan̄ilan̄* etc.² But one has to accept that this is farfetched and if we consider *kaḷaintan̄ru* etc. as verbal nouns which can be equated with *kaḷaintatu* etc. contradiction in the concord can be explained. If it is so, it has to be accepted that not only the regular finite forms like *kaḷaintatu* but also forms like *kaḷaintan̄ru* with *-an̄-* and *ku:rin̄ru* with *-in̄-* have to be taken as homophonous with corresponding verbal noun forms.

5.2. Morphological constructions

It has already been said that in Tamil, negative is also expressed morphologically by certain suffixes which are added to the verbal themes. Tamil has a well developed morphological system to denote negative and this can be seen even in OT. Negation is expressed in

1. finite verb
2. participial noun
3. verbal participle
4. relative participle
5. imperative
6. optative
- and 7. verbal noun,

As noticed by many, the negative suffixes and tense markers are disjunctive and they are found to be, in most of the cases, mutually exclusive, as in

<i>cey-t-a:n̄</i>	did-he
<i>cey-φ-a:n̄</i>	will not do-he
<i>cey-t-amai</i>	doing (past)
<i>cey-a:-mai</i>	not doing

and therefore negatives do not show any tense and they generally denote habituality or non-past. Yet there are a few instances like

<i>vantilan̄</i>	did not come-he
<i>ceytilan̄</i>	did not do-he

in which both past and the negative suffix *-il-* are found to occur together one after the other. One can also doubt whether expressions like

<i>ka:ṇan̄ma:r</i>	will not see-they
<i>aḷa:rko:</i>	shall I weep?

have both negative and tense suffixes. It is true that in some Dravidian languages similar situation can be found (P. S. Subrahmanyam, 1971, p. 339).

References to negative in morphological construction can be found in TOL 591, 701 and 721. In 591, TOL speaks of *casal* construction with negative predicates as found in

<i>marattaiḱ kuraiya:n̄</i>	he does not cut the tree, Ilam. TC 103
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1 See also PR 77-10; 77-10; 257-6; 257-7.

2 When dealing with neuter singular Nac. COL 219 is of the opinion that *-in̄-* can also occur not only with *-in̄-* but also with other markers and he gives examples like *pukkin̄ru, uṇṇin̄ru, vantin̄ru, cen̄rin̄ru*. But in the Old Texts as shown above *-in̄-* always comes after *-i-* alone.

<i>ve:la:n eriya:n</i>	he does not kill with spear, Nac. TC 108
<i>antaṇarkkuk koṭa:n</i>	he does not give to Brahmins, Dei. 104
<i>marattaik kuraiya:n</i>	he does not cut the tree Cen. TC 107

Similarly in 701 *-a:-* which is considered by him as a neuter plural marker which always occurs in the negative construction like *va:ra* 'they (neut.) will not come' is listed as one of the neuter plural markers. Commentators like Nac. (TC 218) have rightly said that it always occurs in the negative. They give example like:

<i>uṇṇa:</i>	will not eat-they, Iḷam. TC 212
<i>uṇṇa:</i>	.. Nac. TC 218
<i>uṇṇa:</i>	.. Cen. TC 216

Though *-a:* is taken as a neuter plural marker by TOL this can be considered as a negative marker and *-φ-* can be set up as the neuter plural marker. In this connection it has to be mentioned that nowhere TOL speaks of negative markers or negative types except *ceyya:* in 222 though he has given positive verbal participle types. Cen. is of the opinion that though negative expressions like *uṇṇa:* etc. can come in all the tenses it is very frequent in the future. (216) Nac. thinks that it would occur in the future. It is true that negatives in morphological constructions like

<i>va:ra:</i>	will not come-they
<i>va:ra:n</i>	will not come-he
<i>va:ra:l</i>	will not come-she
<i>uṇṇala</i>	will not eat-they
<i>ceyyale:n</i>	will not do-I

etc. do not have any tense marker and they generally denote non-past and Caldwell (1956 : 468) is also of the opinion that in Dravidian, negative does not show any tense and says 'that it is 'indeterminate in point of time'. But as mentioned earlier negative can be used in the past by making

use of some periphrastic constructions in which *il* and *al* are used. TOL speaks of only the positive verbal participle of the types *ceytu*, *ceyyu:*, *ceyṇu*, *ceytena*, *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya*, *ceyin*, *ceya*, *ceyarkena* and the relative participle types *ceyta* and *ceyyum* in cutrams 713 and 719 respectively. But various commentators have given the following types.

<i>uṇṇa:tu</i>	without eating	Iḷam. TC 231
<i>uṇṇa:mai</i>	not eating	Cen. TC 236
<i>uṇṇa:mal</i>	without eating	..
<i>uṇṇa:maikku</i>	to not eating	..
<i>uṇṇa:tu</i>	without eating	Nac. TC 238
<i>ceyya:mai</i>	not eating	..
<i>peyya:mal</i>	without raining	..
<i>uṇṇa:maikku</i>	to not eating	..
<i>peyya:viṭin</i>	if it does not rain	..
<i>uṇṇa:tu</i>	without eating	Dei. TC 230
<i>peyya:maiṇ</i>	since it does not rain	..

Two types of negative relative participle are also given by them.

<i>uṇṇa:</i>	which does not	Iḷam. TC 231
<i>uṇṇa:</i>	which does not	Cen. TC 236
<i>uṇṇa:ta</i>	..	..
<i>uṇṇa:</i>	..	Nac. TC 238
<i>uṇṇa:ta</i>	..	..
<i>uṇṇa:</i>	..	Dei. TC 230
<i>uṇṇa:ta</i>	..	..

It is worth mentioning that though TOL speaks of the verbal participle type *ceyya:* in Eluttu 222, some of the commentators have not mentioned about it when they listed various types of negative participles.

There are seven markers in OT viz. *-φ-*, *-a:t*, *-a:*, *-al-*, *-a:l-*, *-e:l* and *-il-* denoting negative in the verbal constructions and out of which *-φ-* is found to be the most predominant. In PT we find *-φ-*, *-a:t*, *-al-* and *-il-*.

5.2.1

-φ-

In PT it occurs before

1. various person markers with long vowels viz. -e:n- -a:y, a:n -a:r and -a: though in other texts it is found to occur with -e:m, -a:m, -i:r and -a:!
2. participial noun marker -φ- followed by various person markers with long vowels viz. a:! etc.
3. though in certain other texts it is found to occur before second person expressions when they are used as imperative.

5.2.1.1.

before personal terminations with long vowels

It is true that -φ- is generally found to occur before various personal markers with long vowels. Yet there are a few occurrences in OT, PR (1), NR (1) KL (6), where -al- is also found in this environment.

-e:n	va:re:n	will not come-1	PT 61-11
-a:y	aru!a:y	will not be benevolent	
		you	PT 71-26
-a:n	makila:n	will not be happy-he	
			PT 61-12
-a:r	tara:ar	will not give-they	
			PT 71-21
-a:	ariya:	will not know-they	
			PT 25-3

But it occurs with other person markers also in other texts.

-e:m

va:re:m	will not come-we	PR 145-4
ka:ne:m	will not see-we	PR 290-3
a:tiy:e:m	will not inform-we	AK 52-10
va:le:m	will not live-we	IN 239-5

celle:m	will not depart-we	NR 52-5
ka:ne:m	will not see-we,	KL 9-9
vi:te:m	will not abandon-we	
		PP 8-177
ovve:m	will not resemble-we	TK 1114
ma:ti:em	will not do-we	CIL 7-32-4

-a:m

nilla:m	will not remain-we	KR 218-3
ceyya:m	will not do-we	AK 106-7
uraiya:m	will not tell-we	NR 263-4

-i:r

ttiriyi:r	will not change-you	PR 58-21
colli:r	will not say-you	NR 213-7
ka:ni:r	will not see-you	KL 20-23
vi:ti:r	will not leave-you	PP 8-144

-a:!

vi:ta:!	will not leave-she	PR 358-6
amaiya:!	will not be content-she	
		KR 366-3
cella:!	will not go-she	AK 385-7
ariya:!	will not know-she	IN 90-3
va:la:!	will not live-she	NR 19-9
a:ti:ta:!	she who will not	
	bear	KL 92-45
ariya:!	will not know-she	
		PAR XI-112
kol!a:!	will not have-she	PP 4-164
tola:!	will not worship-she	TK 55
po:ka:!	will not go-she	CIL 21-8
ol!ya:!	will not leave-she	MM 20-88

5.2.1.2.

before participial noun marker -φ- followed by various person markers

In PT, negative participial alone is found to occur and they too in the feminine singular and epicene plural.

III person Feminine singular

olla:ʃ she who will not agree PT 52-23

III person epicene plural

aʃaṇka:r those who will not be submissive PT 39-7

But participial nouns are found to occur in other texts with other terminations.

I person singular

-e:n

onʃe:n I who will not unite KR 208-1
va:yva:ʃe:n I who will not talk KL 65-15

I person plural

-e:m

olle:m we who are not capable KL 76-10

II person singular

-a:y

amaiya:y you who will not set KR 225-5
aruʃa:y you who will not be gracious AK 320-7
valla:y you who will not be able IN 287-4
ariya:y you who will not know KL 10-10

*III person**Masculine singular*

-a:n

imaiya:n he who will not close PR 290-4
ariya:n he who will not know KR 74-3

akala:n he who will not leave AK 50-5

enappaʃa:n he whom one will not say KL 74-6

ceyya:n he who will not do TK 865

a:ʃʃa:n he who will not worry CIL 16-197

aṇa:n he who will not fear MM 22-187
o:r

paʃiyo:r they who will not subside AK 22-5

paʃiyo:r they who will not bow PP 10-423

5.2.1.3.

Before second person imperative expressions

In the second person construction of the type *ceyya:y* - ϕ - is used as negative marker. As mentioned earlier it is used both as indicative and imperative. Imperative is found to occur very less

no:va:y don't feel sorry KL 75-12
enna:y don't consider PP 6-204
ovva:y don't be similar CIL 7-23-1

5.2.2.

-a:t-

In PT -a:t- is found to occur in

1. verbal participle
2. participial noun,

though it is found in other texts in

3. relative participle
4. finite verb
- and 5. Imperative

Though -a:t- is found to occur in various grammatical categories as mentioned above, it has to be mentioned here that it occurs predominantly in the verbal participle. For example in PT there are 49 occurrences of -a:t-, out of which 48 are in

the verbal participle and only one in the participial noun. In PR also this is the case and out of 131 occurrences 115 are in verbal participles. In this connection it is to be mentioned that in OT texts the occurrence of relative participle with *-a:t-* is found to be very very less when compared to with those other negative markers.

5.2.2.1.

Verbal participle

-a:t- is found to occur in the verbal participle construction in all the texts and it is very predominant. In PR while there are 115 occurrences of VP with *-a:t-*, there are only 2 occurrences with *-a:-* in the negative. This is also the case in the other texts.

	VP	
	<i>-a:t-</i>	<i>-a:-</i>
PR	115	2
KR	45	3
PT	48	0
AK	136	8
IN	21	0
NR	523	2
KL	942	1
PAR	224	1
PP	572	0
TK	208	16
CIL	906	1
MM	731	0

In PT it is found to occur before *-u*, a verbal participle marker

ariya:tu without knowing PT 15-30

5.2.2.2.

Participial noun

-a:t- is found to occur in various participial noun expressions and it seems that next to verbal participle this is wide spread and in almost all the texts it finds its place.

In PT, *-o:r* alone is found to occur in the participial noun expressions, and this is found to be more common in OT than *-a:r*. It is found to occur in PR, KR, PT, AK and NR. It is also to be mentioned that while we find *-o:r* in the above texts, *-a:r* is found more in KL 7 and TK 14.

uṇara:to:r they who will not know

PT 51-24

But in other texts, *-a:t-* is found to occur with other terminations also.

I person singular

-e:n

There are only 6 occurrences in the whole of OT texts, 1 in AK, 1 in NR, 2 in KL and 2 in CIL.

tuñca:te:n I who did not sleep AK 45-19

ariya:te:n I who did not know NR 144-10

ariya:te:n I who do not know KL 37-19

KL 39-40

ariya:te:n I who will not know CIL 19-41

valla:te:n I who will not be able

CIL 29-8-2

I person plural

-e:m

a:ṭra:te:m we who will not try IN 111-5

II person singular

-ai

There is only one occurrence in PR with *-ai*.

toḷa:taṇai you who will not bow PR 263-3

-a:y

There are 4 occurrences in KL

ariya:ta:y you who do not know KL 58-16

KL 97-1

uṇara:ta:y you who will not know
 KL 58-8
 KL 58-12

-o:y

There are two occurrences in IN
tara:to:y you who do not bring IN 138-3
aruḷa:to:y you who will not be
 gracious IN 480-5

II person plural

-i:r

There are five occurrences altogether with -a:t-
 one in PR and four in KL.

peṭa:ati:r you who had not
 delivered PR 9-4
aṭiya:ti:r you who do not know KL 6-7
 KL 39-38
 KL 39-39
 KL 140-2

III Person

Masculine singular

-a:n

There are twenty occurrences, out of which
 one occurs in KL, eighteen in TK and another one
 in CIL.

utayu:ta:n he who will not help KL 149-6
va:ḷa:ta:n he who will not live TK 479¹
nalka:ta:n he who will not give CIL 24-3-2

-o:n

There are few occurrences of -a:t- with -o:n,
 one in PR, one in AK, two in IN, one in NR
 and three in KL.

ke:ḷa:to:n he who will not hear PR 257-13
to:ḷa:to:n he who will not be defeated
 AK Ka. Va. 6

va:ra:to:n he who did not come IN 119-4
aṭiya:to:n he who had not known
 IN 249-4
aṭiya:to:n he who did not
 know NR 94-9
vara:to:n he who will not come KL 41-27
na:ṇa:to:n he who will not feel shy
 KL 43-11
te:ṭra:to:n he who will not believe
 KL 43-19

-an preceded by -av-

aḷunt:tavan he who was not suffered
 KL 146-25
naecappaṭa:tavan
 he who was not liked TK 1004
naccappaṭa:tavan
 he who was not liked TK 1008

Feminine singular

-a:ḷ

va:ḷa:ta:ḷ she who will not
 live KL 2-13
illa:ta:ḷ she who does not
 have TK 402

-o:ḷ

ve:ṇa:to:ḷ she who will not
 desire AK 146-13
uṇṇa:to:ḷ she who will not eat AK 207-17
kaṭiya:to:ḷ she who had not
 prevented KR 361-6

Neuter singular

-atu

inna:tatu that which is not
 pleasant TK 230
 TK 1041
 TK 1041

1 See Also TK 163; 206; 249; 402; 435; 479; 629; 1006; 1007 etc.

<i>cella:tatu</i>	that which cannot be able	TK	472
<i>ura:tatu</i>	it which will not have	GIL	19-6
<i>paṣa:tatu</i>	that which will not be	CIL	9-47
<i>piḷaiya:tatu</i>	that which will not err	MM	29-53

*Epicene Plural**-a:r*

There are 22 instances, 1 in PR, 7 in KL and 14 in TK.

<i>naḷḷa:ta:r</i>	they who will not associate	PR	125-5
<i>nalka:ta:r</i>	they who will not give	KL	348-14
<i>ce:ra:ta:r</i>	they who will not reach	TK	10 ¹

-ar with -av-

This type of participial noun is found to occur in KL (8) and TK (24) only.

<i>añca:tavar</i>	they who will not fear	KL	34-9
<i>uraikkalla:tavar</i>	they who will not speak	KL	61-4
<i>amaiya:tavar</i>	they who will not unite	TK	825
<i>arikalla:tavar</i>	they who will not be able to know	TK	427 ²

*Neuter Plural**-a*

There are four occurrences of *-a* with *-aṇ-*. One each in PR, KR, CIL and MM and the others are found to be without *-aṇ-*, KL two and TK one.

<i>uḷa:tana</i>	they which were not ploughed	PR	109-3
<i>iṇṇa:tana</i>	those which are not pleasant	KR	309-7
<i>paṣa:tana</i>	they which will not be	CIL	9-7
<i>ariya:tana</i>	they which will not know	MM	6-197
<i>ceyya:ta</i>	that which one did not do	KL	81-27 KL 91-6
<i>tu:va:ta</i>	they which were not good	TK	685

As has been mentioned earlier *-a:t-* is found to occur in other texts in relative participle, finite verb and imperative also.

5.2.2.3.

Relative Participle

-a:t- is also found to occur in the relative participle constructions. It is true that relative participle with *-a:t-* is not as familiar as that of with *-a-* negative. Yet it finds place in PR (2), KL (7), TK (12), CIL (13), and MM (1).

No single occurrence is found in PT. This shows that in OT it rarely occurs and it is found to be slightly more in LOT than in EOT.

1 Also see KL 2-2; 14-12; 105-59; 125-1; 143-22; 144-64;

TK 26; 88; 149; 327; 252; 405; 409; 584; 650; 880; 894; 922; 1054.

2 KL 34-13; 34-17; 61-4; 82-33; 88-4; 128-1; 145-63;

TK 42; 66; 147; 187; 240; 270; 289; 347; 354; 576; 598; 626; 640; 649; 890; 997; 1077; 1096; 1213; 1219; 1245; 1292.

<i>keja:ta</i>	which will not die	PR	27-19
<i>celkala:ta</i>	which will not go	PR	126-16
<i>ma:ɪta:ta</i>	who does not refuse	KL	83-23
<i>illa:ta</i>	which will not have	KL	84-8
<i>akala:ta</i>	which will not leave	TK	1226
<i>vaɪaiya:ta</i>	which will not bend		
	low	CIL	19-18
<i>illa:ta</i>	which will not have	MM	70-270

Negative

	-a:-	-a:t-
PR	265	2
KR	54	0
PT	88	0
AK	148	0
IN	27	0
NR	131	0
KL	168	7
PAR	60	0
PP	150	0
TK	102	12
CIL	161	14
MM	120	1

5.2.2.4.

Finite Verb

There are only a few occurrences of finite verb constructions with *-a:t-* and they are found only in KR, AK, NR, IN alone.

*I person singular**-e:n*

<i>tuŋca:te:n</i>	will not sleep-I	KR	6-4
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*II person singular**-o:y*

<i>aɪiya:to:y</i>	did not know-you	KR	120-4
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<i>cu:la:to:y</i>	did not encircle-you	NR	183-11
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-i:m

It is true that *-a:t-* is found before *-i:m* as in

<i>cella:ti:m</i>	do not go-you	KR	350-2
<i>ceppa:ti:m</i>	do not say-you	AK	52-15
<i>maɪaiya:ti:m</i>	do not hide-you	IN	64-4
<i>viraiya:ti:m</i>	do not hurry-you	IN	364-4

But all the above expressions can be taken as the auxiliary constructions.

*III Person**Feminine singular**-o:ɪ*

<i>ku:ɪa:to:ɪ</i>	did not say-she	NR	27-12
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5.2.2.5.

Imperative

-a:t- is also found to occur in the imperative construction. It is to be mentioned here that in the whole of OT texts it is found to occur in twenty occurrences only in KL

<i>aŋca:ti</i>	do not fear	KL	84-36
<i>aliya:ti</i>	do not weep	KL	13-24
<i>colla:ti</i>	do not say	KL	108-19 ^a

5.2.3.

-a:

In PT it is found to occur only in

1. relative participle

though it is also found in

2. the verbal participle expressions in other texts.

1 Also see KL 20-21; 42-14; 70-8; 84-20; 86-29; TK 198; 412; 418; 448; 480; 568; 574; 740; 945; 1172; 1176.

CIL 2-V-3; 7-173; 7-39-3; 12-22-4; 16-V-3; 17-35-4; 17-35-5; 17-36-4; 17-37-4; 19-5; 29-4-1.

2 Also see KL 18-2; 28-21; 31-22; 23-27; 42-25; 79-7; 79-15; 79-21; 82-21; 83-23; 86-14; 86-18; 89-7; 91-7; 107-29; 108-19; 143-26.

5.2.3.1.

Relative participle

In OT texts, we find both *-a:* and *-a:t* as negative markers in the relative participle expressions and it must be mentioned here that *-a:* is far predominant than *-a:t* which must have come from verbal participles with *-a:t*.

peyara: which will not cease PT 90-38

5.2.3.2.

Verbal participle

In the pattern of *ceyya:* of verbal participle we find *-a:* denoting negative. It is to be remembered that the pattern *ceyya:* can denote both negative and positive though the latter is far predominant. In the OT texts negative expressions are not attested in PT, IN, PP and MM.

-φ- is set up as a verbal participle marker

<i>ta:nka:</i>	without tolerating	PR	361-17
<i>u:l̥a:</i>	without thinking	KR	191-3
<i>o:ʃa:</i>	without running	AK	334-1
<i>cella:</i>	without getting	NR	263-8
<i>vi:ʃa:</i>	without leaving	KL	105-34
<i>ku:ʃa:ya:</i>	without decreasing	PAR	VII-92
<i>añca:</i>	without fearing	TK	725
<i>colla:ʃa:</i>	without speaking	CIL	18-9

5.2.4.

-al-

In PT *-al* occurs only in

1. finite verb

though it is found in other texts in

2. participial noun
3. optative
4. imperative and
5. verbal noun

5.2.4.1.

Finite verb

As has already been pointed out that in the finite verb forms with long vowels *-φ* negative is found to be more predominant than any other negative marker. However, there are a few occurrences (PR 1, NR 1 and KL 6) in OT where we find *-al-*. It must be noted that all the occurrences are only in the first person singular with the long vowels. *-al-* is found predominantly in the finite verb with the personal termination with short vowels like *-en*, *-an*, *-am*, *-ai* etc

In PT it is found to occur in the II person singular, III person masculine singular only.

II person singular

ariyalai will not know-you PT 63-1

III person masculine singular

ariyalan will not know-he PT 20-6

But in other texts it occurs with various other person markers also.

I person singular

It is found only in PR, KL and NR and generally *-φ-* negative occurs in this environment. Here, both are in free variation though *-φ-* is far predominant than *-al-* which is very very less.

<i>ma:ʔavale:n</i>	will not forget-I	PR	395-32
<i>ari:kole:n</i>	will not know-I	NR	206-11
<i>amaikalle:n</i>	will not remain-I	KL	104-66
<i>atikalle:n</i>	will not know-I	KL	62-4 ¹

-en

-al- is found to occur with *-en-* in 18 occurrences (PR-3, KR-3, AK-6, IN-1, KL-5).

<i>amaiyalen</i>	will not leave-I	PR	164-10
<i>ve:n:ʔalen</i>	will not desire-I	KR	280-5

¹ Also see KL 47-15; 62-12; 94-11; 144-65.

<i>piriyalen</i>	will not part-I	KL	21-7
<i>amaiyalen</i>	will not be-I	KL	47-9

<i>piḷaiyala!</i>	will not survive-she	AK	9-28
<i>aliyala!</i>	will not emancipate-		
	she	NR	188-9

-an

There are seven occurrences, 1 in KR, 2 in AK, 3 in KR and 1 in CIL.

<i>cuḷalan</i>	will not think-I	KR	300-8
<i>viṭukalan</i>	will not leave-I	AK	193-14
<i>amaikalan</i>	will not be-I	NR	141-12
<i>e:valan</i>	will not command-I	CIL	7-1-17 ¹

I person plural

Unlike other person markers *-am* is found to occur with *-al-* in very many cases. It is to be noted that it occurs in all OT texts except PT, PAR, PP, CIL and MM.

<i>añcalam</i>	will not be afraid-		
	we	PR	397-25
<i>tuñcalam</i>	will not sleep-we	KR	138-1
<i>kuḥalam</i>	will not say-we	AK	198-1
<i>aḥalam</i>	will not tolerate-we	IN	227-3
<i>piriyalam</i>	will not part-we	NR	224-7
<i>toḥyam</i>	will not embrace-		
	we	KL	77-2
<i>ariyalam</i>	will not know-we	TK	1257

III person

Feminine singular

-a!

There are only five forms with *-al-* in this position, one each in PR, KR and NR and two in AK.

<i>varaiyala!</i>	will not marry-she	PR	343-12
<i>ariyala!</i>	will not know-she	KR	337-5
<i>vaḥala!</i>	will not live-she	AK	12-14

Epicene plural

-ar

There are a few occurrences in OT which can be found in PR (6), KR (2), AK (11), IN (1), and NR (6)^a

<i>ariyalar</i>	will not know-they	PR	165-5
<i>aḥalar</i>	will not do they	KR	305-4
<i>añcalar</i>	will not fear-they	AK	144-7
<i>piriyalar</i>	will not leave-they	IN	336-2
<i>ceyyalar</i>	will not do-they	NR	133-7

-a:r

There is only one occurrence of *-al* with *-a:r*.

<i>amaikalla:r</i>	will not be content-they	IN	457-3
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Neuter Plural

<i>ariyala</i>	will not know-they	PR	390-26
<i>me:vala</i>	will not unite-they	AK	11-14
<i>vaḥala</i>	will not wither-		
	they	NR	359-7

5.2.4.2.

Participial Nouns

In PT no Participial noun with *-al-* is attested. But in certain other texts we find them.

I person singular

-en

There is only one occurrence in KL.

<i>uḥalen</i>	I who did not feed	KL	83-5
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¹ Also see AK 362-10; NR 82-5; 260-10.

² Also see PR 43-14; 182-6; 204-11; 210-4; 390-29; KR 290-2; AK 27-11; 69-13; 91-17; 127-21; 183-6; 197-9; 251-6; 311-13; 333-8; 393-21; NR 69-12; 115-10; 256-6; 202-6; 229-6.

*III person**Feminine singular**-a!*

tuyllala! she who will not sleep KL 45-18

-a:!

unarkalla:! she who will not perceive KL 146-6

*Epicene Plural**-ar*

There are occurrences, one in KR, two in AK, one in IN and one in KL.

o:valar they who will not leave KR 34-1

piriyalar they who will not leave IN 336-2

poruntalar they who will not unite AK 266-12

ni:ɬalar they who will not delay AK 298-21

ti:ɳalar they who will not touch KL 102-10

-a:ɾ

There is a solitary instance of *-a:ɾ* in the whole of OT texts.

ti:rkkala:ɾ they who will not remove KL 140-17

5.2.4.3.

Optative

As mentioned earlier *-al-* is also found to occur in various optative constructions with *-ka* and *-φ*. There are 35 occurrences on the whole, out of which 28 are found in TK three in KR, one each in AK, NR, KL and PAR.

<i>va:rarka</i>	may you not come!	KR	198-8
<i>va:rarka</i>	may it not come!	AK	40-12
<i>va:rarka</i>	may he not come!	NR	85-7
<i>cellarka</i>	may you not go!	KL	56-32
<i>va:ɬarka</i>	may it not decrease!	PAR	VI-106
<i>uppaɾka</i>	may one not eat!	TK	922
<i>va:ɾal</i>	may you not come!	KR	258-1
<i>enal</i>	may one not say!	TK	282-2 ¹

5.2.4.4.

Imperative

-al- is also found in the imperative constructions, and it expresses prohibitive both in the singular and plural (with-*miŋ*)

Imperative Singular

-al is found in the imperative singular forms and it finds place in PR, KR, AK, IN, KL, PAR, TK, CIL, MM and it is in free variation with *-a:!* and *-e:!*.

<i>cellal</i>	don't go!	PR	259-4
<i>cellal</i>	don't go!	KR	111-1
<i>cellal</i>	don't go!	AK	21-6
<i>cellal</i>	don't go!	IN	233-4
<i>uraiyal</i>	don't say!	KL	90-27
<i>ce:ɾal</i>	don't go!	PAR	XI-112
<i>añcal</i>	don't fear!	TK	1154
<i>aɭal</i>	don't cry!	CIL	9-24
<i>añcal</i>	don't fear!	MM	7-18
<i>aɭa:al</i>	don't cry!	KR	82-2
<i>toɬa:al</i>	don't touch!	KR	191-7
<i>aɭa:al</i>	don't cry!	AK	233-2
<i>vi:ɬa:al</i>	don't separate!	AK	26-9
<i>vi:ɬa:al</i>	don't allow (to go)!	KL	112-7
<i>a:le:!</i>	don't be immersed!	AK	97-15
<i>cu:le:!</i>	don't vow!	PAR	VIII-68
<i>ku:re:!</i>	don't tell!	PAR	VIII-69

¹ Also see KR 389-2; TK 106; 177; 184; 196; 200; 204; 205; 206; 293; 327; 439 (2); 491; 509; 655; 656; 672; 719; 798; (2) 827; 872; 877; 922; 931.

Imperative plural

They are found in PR 1, AK 1, KL 8, TK 2, CIL 3 and MM 1.

<i>ko!lanmin</i>	don't have!	PR	216-5
<i>piriyanmin</i>	don't part!	AK	217-14
<i>kalahnkanmin</i>	don't get shaken	KL	143-19
<i>ni:lanmin</i>	don't prolong!	PAR	XIV-9
<i>irayanmin</i>	don't beg!	TK	1067
<i>kollanmin</i>	don't kill!	CIL	30-191
<i>ceyyanmin</i>	don't do!	MM	13-50 ¹

5.2.4.5.

Verbal noun

There is only one instance where we find *-al-* in the verbal noun.

<i>po:kanmai</i>	the act of not reaching	PR	223-2
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5.2.5.

-a:l-

-a:l- is also made use of as a negative marker morphologically in PT and it is found in

1. optative

though it occurs it is found in other texts

2. imperative

and 3. finite verb

5.2.5.1.

Optative

In PT it occurs with *-iyar* only.

<i>ira:aliyar</i>	may them not stay!	PT	40-2
<i>tava:aliyar</i>	may it not be		
	deficient!	PT	14-22
<i>ara:aliyar</i>	may then not cease!	PT	55-16

But there is a solitary instance in PR where we find its occurrence with *-ka*.

<i>ura:arka</i>	may it not pierce!	PR	171-13
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5.2.5.2.

Imperative

As has already been said *-a:l-* can be taken as the elongated form of *-al-* and in majority of the cases it is in free variation with *-al*. It is chiefly found in the imperative singular.

Imperative singular

<i>ala:al</i>	don't cry!	KR	82-2
<i>toja:al</i>	don't touch!	KR	191-7
<i>ala:al</i>	don't cry!	AK	233-2
<i>vi:ta:al</i>	don't separate!	AK	26-9
<i>vi:ta:al</i>	don't allow to go!	KL	112-7

Imperative plural

There is only one occurrence with *-a:l-*.

<i>naka:nmin</i>	don't laugh!	KL	145-12
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5.2.5.3.

Finite verb

There are only two occurrences, one in KR and another in KL.

<i>ala:rku</i>	will not cry-I	KR	192-2
<i>naka:lir</i>	will not laugh-you	KL	142-16

5.2.6.

-e:l-

In PT we do not find *-e:l-* marker.

But *-e:l-* also finds its place in OT texts as a negative marker and it is found only in the imperative forms. There are four instances in OT, one in NR, another one in AK and two in PAR.

<i>a:le:l</i>	don't be impressed!	AK	97-15
<i>citaiye:l</i>	don't perish!	NR	387-2
<i>cu:le:l</i>	don't make vow!	PAR	VIII-68
<i>ku:re:l</i>	don't tell!	PAR	VIII-69

1 Also see KL 68-10; 143-12; 147-17; 9-22; 92-6; 140-11, 147-53; TK 771; CIL 30-192; 30-192.

There is a solitary instance of *-e:l+ka* which is found in PAR.

ce:re:ika don't get angry PAR XX-68

5.2.7.

-il-

-il- is found to occur in OT texts very rarely in the morphological constructions and there are only 4 occurrences, 3 in finite verb forms and 1 in the participial noun form. It is true that *-il-* is also found after the past verbal participle forms as in *vantile:n* 'did not come-I' and this type has already been dealt with under periphrastic negative constructions.

In PT it occurs only in

1. Optative

though it occurs in other texts in

2. finite verb

and 3. participial noun.

5.2.7.1.

Optative

ka:piliyar may them not see! PT 44-8

5.2.7.2.

Finite verb

I person singular

-e:n

ka:ṇkile:n will not see-I CIL 18-12
unṇilen will not know-I PR 310-6

-an

tuṇcilan will not sleep-I NR 319-11

-aḷ

melintilaḷ did not suffer-she KR 182-7

5.2.7.3.

Participial noun

arikile:n I who do not know KL 47-17

To sum up, in PT as in other OT texts there are two ways of expressing negative, one by making use of certain periphrastic constructions in which *il* and *al* are made use of and the other by making use of negative suffixes like *-ḥ-*, *-a:t-*, *-al-*, *-il-*, etc. Though it is true that morphological negatives generally does not denote any tense, the periphrastic constructions because of the various finite verbs, verbal nouns etc. do show these which in course of time became out of use.

6.0.

Relative participle

Unlike English, Tamil does not have a relative pronoun, but it has a verbal category called relative participle (also called adjective participle or verbal adjective) which is used to form a kind of construction corresponding to English relative clauses. These expressions are called by TOL *peyareṇcukiḷavi* (Cu. 721, 723, 916) and *peyareccam* by its commentators like *Iḷampuraṇar* (Iḷam. Col. 229, 231, 232, 233), Cen. 234, 236, 238) and *Nannul* (322), a 13th century grammar. It is called not only Relative participle (Caldwell, 1957:487; G. U. Pope, 1911:67) but adjectival participle (Beschi, 1848, Lazarus, 1878 : 128, Israel, 1973 : 222) etc. as well.

Relative participle is basically a verb and behaves also like verbs. Both *viṇaiyēccam* (verbal participle) and *peyareccam* (relative participle) can have their own subjects, various kinds of adverbs etc.

avan veḷḷiṇa kattī the knife with which he cut

avan nanṭa:kac ceyta the job that he did well
ve:lai

avan vantu uṇṭa:n he came and ate
 (having come he ate)

Both of them are derivable from various finite verbs and as participles, they retain most of the syntactic behaviours of the items from which they

are derived. This is the reason why TOL deals with both relative participles (Cu 719) and verbal participles (713) in *vinaiyiyal* 'chapter on verb'.

TOL speaks of relative participle in many cutrams (719, 721, 723, 916) of which mention has to be made about Cu. 719 in which *ceyta* and *ceyyum* patterns are mentioned. It is true that TOL has not listed the markers denoting either relative participle or verbal participle but he has given the structures of them as mentioned in Cu. 713 and 719.

In TOL itself we find expressions like

a!ta
 ayaṁta
 aṇciya
 aṇukiya
 nilaiya
 para:aya
 me:ya
 me:yiya
 oru:um
 toku:um
 aṭaṅka:
 ura:a

which are used as relative participles. The present analysis, follows the methods used in descriptive analysis and sets up two markers $-a$ and $-\phi$ for relative participle.

6.1.

$-a$ is found to occur in PT after

1. various past markers only

though it is found in some other texts after

2. present tense marker *-kinr-*

and 3. negative -a:t-

6.1.1.

after various past markers

-tt- anaitta which tied PT 33-2

<i>-i-</i>	<i>aṭaṅkiya</i>	who controlled	PT	13-29
<i>elongated-i-</i>	<i>amaiya</i>	which someone		
		set	PT	50-13

-3- e:ya which
 commanded PT 41-23

though it is found to occur in other texts with other tense markers.

-in-

In the whole of OT texts, there are only 3 occurrences (one in KR and two in MM), where we find *-in-* as the past tense marker in the relative participle construction of *-in-* verbs.

<i>ni:ŋina</i>	which extended	KR	309-3
<i>po:yiŋa</i>	which left	MM	24-43

-n-

It is also found to occur after the past tense marker *-n-* in the relative participle expression of *po*: 'go'.

po:na which passed MM 30-2

6.1.2.

after present tense markers

It is very interesting to note that *-a* is found to occur after present tense marker too. There are seven occurrences of present tense markers (*kinru* *kiru* and *a:ninru*) (one each in PAR and TK and three in CIL and two in MM).

ce:rkina which joins PAR XXII-35

<i>i_rava: nin_rā</i>	which loosens	TK	1157
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uru!kinra which is rolling CIL 29-1-10

<i>u:rkiṇṛa</i>	which spreads	CIL	7-35-2
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o:canikkin_{ra} which is trying

to leave CIL 14-125

enkinra which someone says MM 29-293

ca:tikkira which is establishing MM 29-299

6.1.3.

after negative -a:t-

ke:ta:ta which will not
die PR 27-19

<i>celkala:ta</i>	which will not go	PR	126-16
<i>tolaiya:ta</i>	which will not be exhausted	CIL	2-V-3
<i>ma:lla:ta</i>	who does not refuse	KL	83-23
<i>illa:ta</i>	which will not have	KL	84-8
<i>akala:ta</i>	which will not leave	TK	1226
<i>vaḷaiya:ta</i>	which will not bent low	CIL	19-18
<i>illa:ia</i>	which will not have	MM	27-270

In OT texts *-a* is found to occur after *-a:t*, a negative marker only in a very few instances whereas *-a:* forms are very predominant.

Negative

	<i>-a:-</i>	<i>-a:t-</i>
PR	265	2
KR	54	0
PT	88	0
AK	148	0
IN	27	0
NR	131	0
KL	168	7
PAR	60	0
PP	150	0
TK	102	12
CIL	161	14
MM	120	1

In EOT it is found in PR and KL and yet this can be taken as a LOT feature. It is well known that the structures of verbal participles and relative participles are very much related with each other (the latter can be derived from the former by adding a relative participle marker) and *-a:ta* form might have come into existence due to analogy adding *-a* to the verbal participle form with *-a:t* (*ceyya:tu + a > ceyya:ta*).

<i>ceyya:tu</i>	<i>ceyya:ta</i>
<i>vantu</i>	<i>vanta</i>

a:ti

vara:tu

a:tiya

vara:ta

It is very interesting to note that Cen. (Col. 236), Nac. (Col. 238), Dei. (230) had given *-a:t-*negatives like *unṇa:ta* though Iḷam has not given any example of this type.

6.2.

-φ

It has already been mentioned that TOL (719) has listed *ceyyum* as a pattern of relative participle. The negative relative participle of the pattern *ceyya:* has also been mentioned by him. Various commentators like Iḷam has given *ceyya:* pattern under the *cu:tram* where TOL speaks of both negative relative participle and verbal participle. (231 of Iḷam, 236 of Cen, 238 of Nac, 230 of Dei, respectively).

In the present analysis *-φ* is taken as the relative participle marker and *-um* and *-a:* are taken as non-past marker and negative marker respectively.

In the relative participle expressions we find that *-u* is dropped in certain cases and this is also treated as *-um*. In certain other cases *-u* is lengthened and naturally it also comes under *-um*. This is also the case in the negative participle of *ceyya:* pattern where *-a:* is elongated.

In PT it (*φ*) occurs after

1. *-um*

and 2. *-a:-* negative.

This is also the case with other texts.

6.2.1.

after *-um*

peyarum who will return PT 30-20

with elongated *u:*

iḷu:um which will do PT 54-12

though it is found to occur after *-m* (*< um*) also in other texts.

<i>ku:um</i>	which will cry	PP	28-9
<i>me:em</i>	which will unite	AK	3-1
<i>ta:am</i>	which will spread	IN	208-3
<i>ta:am</i>	which will fall	NR	24-4
<i>a:am</i>	which will become	KL	58-21

6.2 2.

after negative -a:-

<i>peyara:</i>	which will not cease	PT	90-38
<i>a:ra:a</i>	which will not fade	PT	23-25

7.0.

Verbal participle

As has already been said that in Tamil there is a verbal category called verbal participle which is used to express generally the subordinate and sequential actions performed by the subject when two or more actions are expressed in a sentence. The principal action of the subject is generally expressed by the finite or non finite verbs which always occur after the verbal participle which expresses the action taken place before. In sentences like

avan vantu ca:ppi:uva:n

[literally 'having come he will eat']

he will come and eat

the verbal participle *vantu* denotes the action taken place before the action of eating. In English such actions are expressed by a series of finite verbs joined by the conjunctive particles as in

he would come and eat

and therefore this category is sometimes called conjunctive participle (Linguistic Survey of India). Though it is true that in examples like the above, it is somewhat used in the sense of conjunctive participle, there are many other constructions where the verbal participles are used differently.

avan a:ta:mal ni:ra:n

'He stood without moving'

avan o:ti vanta:n

'he came running'

avan ceytu pa:rtta:n

'He tried doing'

etc. shows that they are used in many other senses also.

It is also called adverbial participle (John Lazarus, 1878: 128; S. K. Chatterji, 1926: 861). The term verbal participle is made use of here following Caldwell (1957); G. U. Pope (1859: 67) etc. In traditional grammars they are named *vinaiyeñcu ki:avi* (Tol. 707) and *vinai eccam* (Nan. 342, 343), which includes verbal participles, infinitives and conditionals. It has already been said that certain patterns like *ceya*, *ceyyiya* and *ceyyiyar* are called infinitives.

TOL deals with verbal participles in ten cutrams (Tol. 707, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 721, 722 and 724) in *vinaiyiyal* (Chapter on verbs). In *e:uttatika:ram*, (which deals with phonology) also we find two cutrams (222, 236) dealing with the verbal participles of the type *ceyya:* and the participles ending in *-i* like *a:ti*, *o:ti* etc. Similarly there are a few more cutrams in *eccaviyal* (913, 915, 940) which deal with them. Altogether TOL has devoted more than 15 cutrams to deal with this important category in Tamil.

It is the contention of some scholars (Ilakkuvarar, 1963: 336) that though Tolka:ppiyar has spoken of this participle in many cutrams 'he has not defined what it is as Pavananti, the grammarian of the 13th century, has done' (ibid. 336). They are of the opinion that it has been left 'to be inferred from its name *vinai eñcu ki:avi* or *vinai eccam* which means the verb depending upon another finite verb for completing its sense' (ibid. 336)

All words which are in construction with a verb are not verbal participles in the strict sense.

There are many words like *ini* 'hereafter', *nan̄ku* 'well', *me:lum* 'further', which are in construction with verbs and they are not at all considered to be verbal participles though they are considered so by people like Deivaccilaiyar (Dei. 229).

<i>ini ceyya:n</i>	'He will do hereafter'
<i>nan̄ku ceyta:n</i>	'He did well'
<i>me:lum con̄na:n</i>	'He stated further'

What is more important is the structure of the participle. It is true that Tolka:ppiyam has not given any definition as such for verbal participles but has given their various patterns which, I think, serve for more than a definition. The definition given by *Nannu:l* in the cu:tram 342 does not in any way improve the situation. TOL 713 offers various patterns of participles whose structures are very clear.

According to TOL the items having the structures of the patterns given in Cut. 713 are alone to be considered as participles. Though modern grammarians classify them into various classes namely, verbal participle, infinitive, conditional, etc. (S. V. Subramaniam, 1965 : 41-42, 435; Isreal, 1973 : 311; L. V. Ramaswamy Iyer, 1938 : 760, 770, 773) such a classification was not attempted by TOL; but various commentators do it in one way or the other.

Verbal participles are generally found with past or negative markers as in

<i>va-nt-u</i>	having come
<i>kaṇ-ṭ-u</i>	having seen
<i>a:ṭ-i-φ</i>	having danced
<i>cey-a:t-u</i>	without doing
<i>ka:n-a:-mal</i>	without seeing
<i>ka:n-a:-mai</i>	without seeing

etc. though there are a few more patterns where no overt past markers are found. Patterns of

<i>ceyya:</i>	having done
<i>ceyyu:</i>	having done
<i>ceypu</i>	having done

can be cited. It is also to be noted that Kalla:ṭar, one of the commentators of TOL has erroneously given (COL 230) the pattern

ceyya: nin̄ru

saying that the verbal participle can also have a pattern with present tense marker.

All these participles generally show past tense or negative and as already shown they have past or negative markers though a few of them do not have any overt markers. They show past and it can always be taken that the action denoted by the participle has taken place before the action shown by the subsequent verbs which can be seen in examples like:

avan̄ vantu ca:ppiṭṭa:n

'He came and ate'

avan̄ vantu ca:ppiṭṭuva:n

'He will come and eat'

But this is not the case with examples like

avan̄ o:ṭi vanta:n

'He came running'

avan̄ ca:ppiṭṭuk koṇṭe: pe:cina:n

'He talked while eating'

which show some kind of simultaneous action. However, in majority of the cases it shows past and a detailed analysis of the behaviour of the verbal participle will throw much light on this aspect

There are eight markers namely $-\phi$, $-u$, $-u:$, $-a:$, $-pu$, $-mai$, and $-mal$, denoting verbal participle in OT out of which $-u$ and $-\phi$ are found to be very predominant. In this connection it has to be mentioned that the occurrence of the above two ($-u$ and $-\phi$) markers are dictated by the verb root themselves.

$-\phi$ is found to occur with the verb stems taking $-in̄-$ or $-i-$ as past markers and $-u$ with those which take other past markers (of course it also occurs after negative $-a:t-$).

In PT all the markers except *-a:* and *-mal* are found to occur. *-mal* does not find its place in many of the OT texts viz. PR, KR, PT, AK, IN, NR and MM.

7.1.

-φ

In PT

-φ occurs after

1. *-i* a past marker
2. after past *-v*, though
3. it occurs after negative *-a:-* in other texts

It is true that TOL has not listed the pattern *a:ṭi* where we find *-i* in Cu. 713 where he listed *ceytu*, *ceyyu:*, *ceṣṣu* patterns. But in *Eluttu* he mentions this in Cu. 236 as *-i* ending participle where he deals with the morphophonemic changes of this kind of participle. While commenting on the Cu. 713, the commentators like *ce:ṇa:varaiyar* [228] are of the opinion that the occurrence of *i-* or *-u* is dictated by the verb roots and therefore it is not necessary to list both and they have to be considered as one and the same and hence TOL has not specifically mentioned about *-i*. In this connection it has to be remembered that though it is not listed in Cu. 713, he has mentioned it, as already said, in *eluttiyal*. Commentators like *Iḷam* [eluttu 237] give example slike *te:ṭi* 'having searched' etc. in *eluttiyal*.

7.1.1.

after past *-i*

elutti having written PT 68-17

In OT we find yet another type of verbal participle where we have *aḷapeṭai*. In these expressions we find *-i* which can be considered as a tense sign. There are 38 verb stems which end in *-ai* as

acai to stay

<i>aḷai</i>	to mix
<i>icai</i>	to sound
<i>uṭai</i>	to break
<i>urai</i>	to move

etc. which denote verbal participle by the addition of *i-*. Out of these verb stems only two verbs viz. *cina* and *virayu* end in *-a* and *-u* respectively and all the others in *-ai*.

Similarly there are a few other verbs which end in *-i* or *-u* and they also denote verbal participle by adding *-i*. There is another verb viz. *cel* where *-i* is added to denote verbal participle. The verb *up* is also found to occur with *i:*.

This type of participle is found in PT as well as other texts

<i>uraii</i>	having moved	PT	40-9
<i>acaii</i>	having stayed	PR	67-9
<i>cinaii</i>	having become		
	angry	PR	2-13
<i>viraii</i>	having mixed	KR	62-2
<i>oraii</i>	having dispensed	PT	13-27
<i>celi:i</i>	having gone	NR	54-1

It is true that in certain places this *-i* like in *iri:i* denotes causative but this is not found to be the case in all the occurrences. P. S. Subrahmanya satri (1934: 149) is of the opinion that *-i* always denotes causative which is not true in all the cases.

In OT, the following verbs are found to have taken *-i*.

<i>acai-i</i>	having stayed	PR	67-9
<i>aḷai-i</i>	having mixed	PR	366-4
<i>icai-i</i>	having sounded	PR	374-7
<i>uṭai-i</i>	having broken	KR	373-6
<i>urai-i</i>	having moved	PR	96-1
<i>kaṭai-i</i>	having driven	AK	74-11
<i>kalai-i</i>	having dispersed	KR	291-7
<i>kavai-i</i>	having embraced	NR	202-7
<i>kuvai-i</i>	having piled-up	PR	343-1

<i>kanai-i</i>	having become			<i>kalī-i</i>	having removed	IN	399-1
	crowded	AK	128-3	<i>kari-i</i>	having bitten	AK	337-14
<i>kai-i</i>	having adorned	PP	6-419	<i>kulī-i</i>	having gathered	PR	161-2
<i>citai-i</i>	having spoiled	KR	349-1	<i>kōri-i</i>	having pierced	NR	59-1
<i>cinai-i</i>	having become angry	PR	2-13	<i>keli-i</i>	having united	PR	212-9
<i>talai-i</i>	having poured	PR	192-7	<i>koī-i</i>	having set	PR	14-13
<i>tai-i</i>	having joined	PR	126-2	<i>ceri-i</i>	having fitted	PR	22-21
<i>tatai-i</i>	having got	NR	124-9	<i>celi-i</i>	having gone	NR	54-1
<i>taīai-i</i>	having dropped	AK	26-12	<i>ceīi-i</i>	having worn	CIL	6-83
<i>tiīai-i</i>	having enjoyed	KL	102-6	<i>tari-i</i>	having brought	PT	37-9
<i>tutai-i</i>	having joined	PP	10-8	<i>taīi-i</i>	having embraced	PR	58-5
<i>tulai-i</i>	having looked into	PR	370-4	<i>tiri-i</i>	having proceeded	PAR	VI-37
<i>tunai-i</i>	having hurried	NR	296-7	<i>teīi-i</i>	having heaped	AK	393-7
<i>tolai-i</i>	having destroyed	PP	10-461	<i>niīi-i</i>	having established	PR	18-3
<i>nacai-i</i>	having desired	PR	161-22	<i>p ri-i</i>	having been cut	AK	21-19
<i>nirai-i</i>	having been arranged	PP	4-120	<i>paīi-i</i>	having immersed	PR	16-6
<i>nllai-i</i>	having stood	PR	22-9	<i>peīi-i</i>	having got	NR	339-8
<i>niīai-i</i>	having thought	PR	164-0	<i>puri-i</i>	having desired	PAR	XV-63
<i>pacai-i</i>	having desired	AK	379-21	<i>pori-i</i>	having compared	PP	8-31
<i>parai-i</i>	having worshipped	PT	P. 3-8	<i>poli-i</i>	having poured	CIL	7-40-2
<i>piīai-i</i>	having joined	KL	102-26	<i>poīi-i</i>	having borne	KL	94-11
<i>pukai-i</i>	having burnt	PR	281-6	<i>mari-i</i>	having joined	KR	266-4
<i>purai-i</i>	having protected	PT	50-4	<i>miki-i</i>	having made to		
<i>puīai-i</i>	having worn	NR	313-4		increase	PR	84-11
<i>pai-i</i>	having suffered	NR	96-11	<i>me:īkoīi-i</i>	having undertaken	TK	938
<i>maīai-i</i>	having hidden	IN	115-3	<i>valiyūīi-i</i>	having emphasized	AK	325-15
<i>munai-i</i>	having hated	PR	23-1	<i>valīi-i</i>	having slipped	KL	106-27
<i>vakai-i</i>	having cut	NR	120-5	<i>virīi-i</i>	having spread	AK	130-7
<i>vaīai-i</i>	having surrounded	PR	18-1	<i>veri-i</i>	having feared	PR	348-1
<i>virai-i</i>	having mixed	KR	62-2				
<i>ari-i</i>	having cut	PP	6-376				
<i>alīi-i</i>	having destroyed	NR	82-9				
<i>ari-i</i>	having known	PR	398-16				
<i>īīi-i</i>	having put on	PAR	X-11				
<i>iri-i</i>	having made to sit	PR	150-8				
<i>eli-i</i>	having raised	PT	29-8				
<i>uīi-i</i>	having worn	PR	279-8				
<i>upi-i</i>	having eaten	IN	268-2				
<i>uri-i</i>	having pierced	PR	235-10				
<i>uīi-i</i>	having caused to						
	happen	PR	77-26				
<i>ori-i</i>	having disengaged	PR	29-20				

7.1.2.

after past -y

There are 4 verbs in PT where we find -y denoting past though there are as many as 19 verbs in OT.

<i>a:ay</i>	having become	PT	67-20
<i>e:ey</i>	having commented	PT	11-13
<i>kaīa:ay</i>	having kindled	PT	30-33
<i>tu uy</i>	having offered	PT	17-6

7.1.3.

after negative -a:-

-φ- is also set up in the negative participle of the pattern *ceyya*: which has also been mentioned by TOL in *eluttu* (222). But TOL has not mentioned anything whether it denotes positive or negative or both. The commentators also leave us in darkness without saying anything about it. In the whole of OT texts there are a few occurrences in PR (2) KR (3), AK (8), NR (2), KL (2), PAR (1), TK (16) and CIL (1) where this pattern is found to denote negative. Except in TK, in all OT texts positive is found to be far predominant than negative.

<i>ta:nka:</i>	without tolerating	PR 361-17
<i>u!la:</i>	without thinking	KR 191-3
<i>o:ta:</i>	without running	AK 334-1
<i>cella:</i>	without getting	NR 263-8
<i>vi:ta:</i>	without leaving	KL 105-34
<i>ku:aiya:</i>	without decreasing	PAR VII-92
<i>añca:</i>	without fearing	TK 725
<i>colla:ta:</i>	without speaking	CIL 18-9 ¹

7.2.

-u

-u is found to occur with the verbs taking various past markers other than -iñ- and also with the negative verbal participles with -a:t-. In the case of positive verbal participles, the occurrence of -u, as already mentioned, is decided by the verbal roots themselves because the selection of the past markers itself is dictated by the roots.

These participles are called *ceytu* pattern by TOL and he lists in Cu. 713 with other patterns. In this pattern of verbal participles we find various past markers overtly expressed and therefore all the commentators are of the opinion that it

denotes past. Ilam (Col. 224), is very specific that it denotes past. Cen (228) is also of the same opinion. Nac. (Col. 230), though not specific, seems to have endorsed the same view. This is also the case with Dei (222). Above all, TOL himself says (Cu. 724) that it denotes past, though it can also acquire non-past. It is true that in examples like

na:n na:la: vantu ca:ppi:ve:n

'I would come and eat tomorrow'

the verbal participle *vantu* denotes non-past with reference to the time of this statement. But it must be noted that it denotes past with reference to the time denoted by the verb *ca:ppi:ve:n* 'will eat'. Therefore if we take the view that all the verbal participles of this pattern shows past with reference to the time denoted by the verb with which this is in construction with, we can very easily account for the occurrence of various past markers in these constructions. And in this connection it has to be mentioned that commentators like P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri (1934:187) mentions that Cen. (TOL. COL. 228) and Nac. (TOL. COL. 230) are also of the same opinion saying that 'It denotes an action done previous to that which is denoted by the verb which it qualifies'. *Nannu:l* has also thought in the same vein. As has been mentioned earlier, there are a few places where the verbal participles of this type denotes simultaneous action which has also been noted by Caldwell (1956:488).

TOL (715) has also said that this pattern of participles and the verb with which it is in construction with, will always have one and the same subject. Though it is true in majority of the cases there are a few instances where we find that they have different subject altogether. Examples like

¹ PR 392-5, KR 211-3, 291-3, AK 32-17, 78-19, 86-13, 195-16, 218-79, 237-6, 356-8, NR 270-1, KL 93-33, TK 203, 238, 378, 422, 479, 527, 821, 824, 826, 861, 876, 912, 1052, 1116, 1250.

avan vantuta:n na:n po:kanum

'only after he came, I should go'

avan vantu na:n po:kava:?

'Am I to go after he comes?'

avan o:fi na:n pa:rkkavilal

'I never saw him running'

avan koṭuttu na:n va:nkayillai

'I didn't get from him giving'

can be multiplied. In OT also there are very many occurrences where we find different subjects. (Elayaperumal, 1974:612-617). This has also been noted by various commentators under Cu. 715, and 940

In PT

—u occurs after

1. various past markers

and 2. negative -a:t-

This is also the case with other OT texts.

7.2.1.

after various past markers

kanṭu having seen PT 15-15

7.2.2.

after negative -a:t-

aṭiya:tu without knowing PT 15-30

7.3.

-u:u

In OT we find the occurrence of the verbal participles of *ceyyu:u* pattern which has been listed by TOL in Cu. 713. This pattern is found to occur in almost all OT texts under analysis except KR and TK. Totally there are 59 occurrences, 7 in PR, 13 in AK, 7 in PT, 4 in NR, 3 in IN 15 in PP, 5 in PAR, 1 in KL, 2 in CIL and 2 in MM. This is found to occur generally after the verb which take past markers other than -i-,

though there are two verbs viz. *kaḷu:u* and *taḷu:u* having this marker as in

<i>kaḷu:u</i>	having washed	PR	19-18
<i>taḷu:u</i>	having embraced	PR	359-4
<i>taḷu:u</i>	having embraced	PP	6-614

A quick perusal of this pattern shows that in OT texts it occurs with 40 verbs, two as mentioned earlier with those which take -i- as past tense and the rest with those with other past tense as in:

<i>iḷu:u</i>	having made sign	PR	158-24
<i>kaṭaiyu:u</i>	having driven	PR	308-1
<i>kaḷu:u</i>	having washed	PR	19-18
<i>kaṇu:u</i>	having seen	PR	278-8
<i>taḷu:u</i>	having embraced	PR	359-4
<i>peṇu:u</i>	having received	PR	283-2
<i>vaḷaiyu:u</i>	having bent	PP	4-145

u:u occurs after past -φ-

<i>aḷu:u</i>	having been killed	PT	13-11
<i>aṭaiyu:u</i>	having reached	PT	81-4
<i>iku:u</i>	having beat	PT	40-3
<i>kaṇu:u</i>	having seen	PT	30-20
<i>tuṭaiyu:u</i>	having brushed	PT	44-1
<i>niṇaiyu:u</i>	having thought	PT	71-16
<i>puṭaiyu:u</i>	having clapped	PT	30-36

As mentioned earlier this pattern does not have any overt past marker though it is always glossed as past and therefore a -φ- can be set up as a past tense marker. In this environment both *u:u* and *a:* and -pu are in free variation.

It is true that this pattern does not have any overt tense marker though it has been invariably glossed by various commentators of OT texts in the past.

<i>iḷu:u</i>	having made sign	AK	31-9
<i>kaḷu:u</i>	having washed	PR	19-18

Commentators of TOL are also almost unanimous in saying that it would denote past. Though Ilam has not said anything about this Cen (228) and Nac. (230) are of the opinion that it denotes past only. But Dei (224) says that it would denote not only past but present also. He cites an example from PT (Ilāṅkutoṭi-2)

niḷam puṭaiyu; uveḷutarum valampaṭu kuñcaram

which can be very easily interpreted as other occurrences giving past meaning. By past we always mean that the action of the verbal participle takes place before the action of the following verbal expressions.

It is also to be mentioned that TOL has said in Cu. 715 that the patterns *ceytu*, *ceyyu:* and *ceypu* and the following verbs will have one and the same subject. Though the statement of TOL is not hundred percent right with regard to OT texts, with particular reference to *ceytu*, *ceypu* and *ceyyu:* is found to occur with the same subject.

7.4.

-a:

Another pattern of verbal participle viz. *ceyya:* is also found in OT and it finds its place in all the OT texts under analysis without any exception and at the outset itself it has to be mentioned that it is homophonous denoting both positive and negative.

avan ceyya: vanta:n

can mean

1. he came (after) doing
2. he came without doing

It is true that positive is far predominant than the negative and the following chart shows clearly this phenomenon.

	<i>ceyya:</i>	
	Positive	Negative
PR	20	2
KR	4	3
PT	3	0
AK	36	8
IN	1	0
NR	13	2
KL	29	1
PAR	8	1
PP	16	0
TK	5	16
CIL	7	1
MM	4	0

As mentioned earlier though TOL has not listed this pattern with other patterns in Cu. 713, he has mentioned it in Cu. 222 where he deals with the morphophonemic changes of -a ending words. Commentators like Ilam (223) give examples like

uṇṇa:k koṇṇa:n

uṇṇa:c ceṇṇa:n

etc. It is not clear whether *uṇṇa:* is taken either as positive or a negative though it can be inferred that it denotes both. Nac. also repeats (Eluttu 222) the same examples leaving us in darkness. While commenting on Cu. 238 of Col. also, Nac. does not mention anything about this pattern denoting negative. He cites *uṇṇa:tu* only as a negative counterpart to *uṇṇu*, *uṇṇu:*, *uṇṇa:* and *uṇṇupu:*. Cen also speaks in the same vein (236). In this connection it is to be remembered that it occurs denoting negative very less in OT texts when compared to positive.

Cen considers that this pattern can be derived from *ceyyu:* pattern '*a:tu uṇṇa: eṇa a:ka:rama:yum varum*'. Kal. (Col. 230) considers this as equiva-

lent to *ceyyu*: It has to be mentioned that the pattern *ceyya*: is found to be more in OT texts than *ceyyu*: pattern though the latter is less predominant in LOT texts.

	<i>Ceyya</i> :	<i>Ceyyu</i> :
PR	20	7
KR	4	0
PT	3	9
AK	36	13
IN	1	3
NR	13	4
KL	29	1
PAR	8	5
PP	16	15
TK	5	0
CIL	7	2
MM	4	2

It is also to be noted that while *ceyya*: pattern denotes both positive and negative *ceyyu*: denotes only positive.

-φ- can be set up as the past tense marker and *-a:* can be taken as the verbal participle marker and in this environment both *-a:* and *-u:* and *-pu* are in free variation.

-a: occurs after *-φ-* past

<i>ka:na:</i>	having seen	PR	41-11
<i>ka:na:</i>	having seen	KR	231-4
<i>ku:ra:</i>	having become abundant	PT	71-22
<i>uraiya:</i>	having said	AK	5-19
<i>ya:ra:</i>	having come	IN	397-3
<i>ce:ra:</i>	having reached	NR	342-4

<i>no:kka:</i>	having looked	KL	143-7
<i>karaiya:</i>	having sounded	PAR	IX-35
<i>ceyya:</i>	having done	PP	10-84
<i>paiya:</i>	having plucked	TK	774
<i>ni:nka:</i>	having left	CIL	10-159
<i>ka:na:</i>	having seen	MM	8-16

7.5.
-pu

In OT we find another type of verbal participle which is known as *ceypu* participle. Though this is not found in MT, it is attested in all the OT texts under analysis except TK.

<i>tarupu</i>	having given	PR	376-14
<i>aruntupu</i>	having eaten	KR	201-2
<i>ce:rupu</i>	having reached	PT	84-23
<i>tlipu</i>	having got down	AK	330-14
<i>nekilpu</i>	having slipped	IN	20-5
<i>aruntupu</i>	having drunk	NR	338-7
<i>inaipu</i>	having joined	KL	124-9
<i>urulpu</i>	having rolled	PAR	II-46
<i>cu:lpu</i>	having surrounded	PP	8-227
<i>cintupu</i>	having spilled	CIL	4-43
<i>ka:ttupu</i>	having shown	MM	19-99

This has also been listed as one of the participles by TOL in Cu. 713.

It is used in majority of the cases as *ceytu* type as shown above though it is used in certain places as participle denoting purpose PR (1) 175-12, KL (1) 84-20, CIL (1) 23-166 and effect KR (1) 382-3, PT (2) 22-22, 47-5 AK (1) 379-10, NR (1) 228-3; PAR (2) XXII-25 VI-42, CIL (1) 6-171, MM (1) 19-90 and in this respect this can be compared with the *ceya* participle.

<i>kavarpu</i>	in order to seize	PR 125-12
<i>e!lupu</i>	in order to ridicule	KL 84-20
<i>ku:lupu</i>	in order to join	CIL 23-166

Mention has to be made here that though the above instances have been interpreted by commentators with purpose meaning it may be possible to consider them as *ceytu* participle and this will not affect the meaning very much. There are also few instances where the *-pu* participles are made use of in OT texts to denote effect as mentioned earlier.

<i>kamalpu</i>	so as to be fragrant	KR 382-3
<i>tu:nkupu</i>	so as to suspend	PT 22-22
<i>valipu</i>	so as to flow	PT 47-5
<i>cu:lpu</i>	so as to surround	AK 379-10
<i>tikalpu</i>	so as to be known	AK 99-17
<i>tu:rpup</i>	so as to be dimmed	NR 228-3
<i>natipu</i>	so as to be crushed	PAR XXII-25
<i>na:rupu</i>	so as to be fragrant	PAR VI-42
<i>varuntupu</i>	so as to suffer	CIL 6-171
<i>poruntupu</i>	so as to coincide	MM 19-90

From the foregoing, it can be safely said that the *ceypu* participle is used in the vast majority of the cases as *ceytu* type. It is well known that *ceytu* always denotes past and therefore we can safely conclude that *ceypu* also denotes past. However, there are few occurrences as shown above where it is also used to denote both purpose and effect. With regard to its tense it can be said that it denotes past in majority of the cases though it can also be claimed that atleast in certain cases when it is used as participle denoting purpose and effect, it denotes non-past, something like *ceya* participle.

Cen. one of the commentators of TOL (Cu. 228) is of the view that it always denotes present tense giving the effect comitative and he gives

nakupu vanta:n he came smiling

as an example which can be compared with

avan o:fi vanta:n he came running

Though Nac. (COL 230) has rightly said that *ceypu* participle denotes past tense in majority of the cases, following Cen. he has said it is also used to give comitative significance in certain cases and has given the same example given by Cen. But it must be said that even *ceytu* type can be used to denote comitative or simultaneousness as in

avan alutu konje: vanta:n he came weeping

avan cirittuk konje: vanta:n he came laughing

This shows that *ceytu* type can be very easily substituted in the place of *ceypu* type and practically there is not much difference between these two types except in the fact that *ceypu* can also be used to denote purpose and effect as mentioned earlier. That is the reason why Dei. (223), another commentator of TOL opines that it denotes all the three tenses namely past, present and future. Since it is not significantly different from *ceytu* type it ceases to be widely used even in the LOT period. This has also been noted by Cen. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri (1945:186) is of the opinion that it denotes past. Since it denotes past in the majority of the cases a *-phi-* is set up as a past marker and *-pu* can be considered as occurring after *-phi-*. In this environment it is in free variation with *-u:* and *-a:*.

-pu occurs after *-phi-* past

after *-phi-* past

ce:rpup having reached PT 84-23

-p

	ceypu type	purposive	effect
PR	23	1	0
KR	27	0	1
PT	27	0	2
AK	102	0	1
IN	8	0	0
NR	49	0	1
KL	130	1	0
PAR	52	0	2
PP	61	0	0
TK	0	0	0
CIL	5	1	1
MM	7	0	1

7.6.

-mai

It has already been mentioned that negative in verbal participle is expressed by *-a:* and *-a:t-*. *-a:* is found to occur as a negative marker in the case of verbal participles of the patterns

*ceyya:mai**ceyya:mal*

also. Of these two patterns the former is found to occur in PR 2, PT 1, AK 6, NR 6, KL 7, TK 12 and CIL 1 and it is also very interesting to note that it is homophonous with the verbal noun of the pattern.

uṇara:mai the act of not knowing,

KL 99-21

The commentators of TOL list this pattern under 236 (Cen.) and 238 (Col.) (Nac.) respectively. *-mai* occurs after negative *-a:-* and it is in free variation with *-mal*.

after negative *-a:-*

<i>ariya:mai</i>	without knowing	PR 386-8
<i>eñca:mai</i>	without ceasing	PT 90-4
<i>ariya:mai</i>	without knowing	AK 22-16
<i>velippaṭa:mai</i>	without coming out	NR 61-6
<i>ariya:mai</i>	without knowing	KL 132-19
<i>ariya:mai</i>	without knowing	TK 440
<i>va:la:mai</i>	without living	CIL 28-212 ¹

-mal

-mal is also found to occur in many of the OT texts, though it is not found in PR, KR, PT, AK, IN, NR and MM. This shows that it does not find place in EOT texts and the occurrence of this can be considered as one of the LOT features. In the LOT texts, *-mal* has an edge over *-mai*. In KL also we find 12 occurrences of *-mal* whereas there are only 7 in the case of *-mai*. However, in TK *-mai* is found to occur in 12 places whereas *-mal* is only in 4.

-mal is also mentioned by Cen. under Cu. 236 and by Nac. under Cu. 238 Col.

-mal occurs after negative *-a:-* and it is in free variation with *-mai*

after *-a:-*

<i>ku:ṛa:mal</i>	without saying	KL 1-3
<i>koḷutta:mal</i>	without burning	PAR XI-126
<i>ceyya:mal</i>	without doing	TK 101
<i>piriya:mal</i>	without parting	CIL 1-61 ²

8.0.

Verbal Noun

In Tamil and other Dravidian languages, we find a grammatical category called verbal noun

1 Also see PR 120-8, AK 13-17; 208-11; 255-2; 283-8; 368-13; KL 108-61; 115-1; 123-6; 134-11; 136-6; 142-7; TK 38, 281, 296, 442, 482, 497, 536, 701, 704, 779, 1295.

2 See also KL 4-10; 19-12; 38-13; 38-17; 39-41; 65-18; 77-15; 108-59; 109-25; 121-21; 145-19; PAR XX-74; PP 10-365; CIL 1-61; 3-9; 3-146; 18-26; 18-27; TK 313; 578; 1028.

which plays a very predominant role in their syntax and it is very important for the description of these languages. This is a verbal category though it also functions as noun, taking case signs etc. It is derived from verb and it functions also as verb taking all kinds of adverbs having its own subject, object and other cases. Examples like:

muḷavin munnar a:ḷal valla:n allan

'He is not able to dance before the drum'

PT 56-2

piṟṟai nilai muniya:tu kaṟṟal naṇṇe:

'It is good to learn without hating of
our backwardness'

PT 183-2

.. ni: aruḷal ma:ṇe

'since you are benevolent'

PR 92-6

.. acai naṭai uḷḷalum uriya!

'your wife will think of you'

PT 16-13

varaṇiya: ni:ṅkal ve:ṇṇi

'in order to get away from the poverty'

PR 385-5

etc. show it's verbal quality and in this, it behaves exactly like verbs. Note that in 1, the verbal noun *a:ḷal* takes the adverb *munnar* 'before' and in 2, *kaṟṟal* the negative verbal participle *muniya:tu* 'without hating'. In 3, the verbal noun *aruḷal* has its own subject *ni:* 'you'. Similarly in 4, we find that the verbal noun *uḷḷal* has the object *niṇṇai* 'you' (supplied).

While dealing with verbal noun, Caldwell says "they are indeterminate with respect to time, being formed, not from participles, but from the verbal root or the formed theme; and they express the act, not the abstract idea of the verb to which they belong and hence are called by Tamil grammarians *tolil peyar*, nouns of operation or employment (Caldwell 1957:542)". In this connection, mention has to be made that the verbal nouns always denote the act as observed by Caldwell and it also functions as verb and therefore it is always to be construed as verb.

It is true, as observed by Caldwell, that verbal nouns with the ending *-al*, *-tal*, *-ttal* and *-kkal* are indeterminate with respect to time. But verbal nouns with the suffix *-atu* and *-amai* denote time and negative and this can be found in examples like,

avan ne:ṟṟu vantatu eṇakkut teriyum

'I know that he came yesterday'

avan na:ḷai varuvatu eṇakkut teriyum

'I know that he comes tomorrow'

avan vara:tatu eṇakkut teriyum

'I know that he (did) not come'

In OT also we find several examples where tense is overtly marked.

i:vatu ila:ḷan eṇṇa:tu

'without thinking that he does not have
anything to give (in the future)

PR 316-8

.....*ta:ṇatu*

ciriteṇa uṇarntamai na:ṇi

'he abashed because he thought that it
was small'

PR 394-14

a:ṅku uṇarntamaiyṇ i:ṅku e:kuma:tuḷeṇe:

'Since I knew, I am to go there'

KR 173-7

.....*puṇarntamai aṟiya:r*

'(They) don't know that they copulated'

AK 112-15

ka:talāṇ tantamai aṟiya:tu.....

'without knowing that the lover gave'

NR 282-4

.....*e:tila:rp puṇarntamai*

kariku:rum kaṇṇiyai.....

'Oh man of garland! which show that you
have mated with consorts'

KL 78-13

etc. show that verbal nouns of the type *i:vatu*, *uṇarntamai* show non-past and past tenses respectively.

It is also to be mentioned that verbal nouns of the above type are inflected to negative also

though this is not the case with the other type having *-al*, *-tal* etc. as its suffixes. Examples like

<i>i:ya:mai</i>	the act of not giving	PR	165-4
<i>paṭa:mai</i>	the act of not becoming	PT	90-16
<i>uṇara:mai</i>	the act of not knowing	KL	99-21
<i>va:ra:mai</i>	the act of not coming	AK	25-15
<i>va:r:amai</i>	the act of not coming	IN	261-4
<i>ve:ṇa:mai</i>	the act of not requesting	NR	308-4

etc. show this phenomenon. All these show that the verbal nouns have to be taken as pure verbs though they are declined and are used as substantives.

It is true that like substantives they take case signs. Examples like

<i>ku:rutaliṇ</i>	since they say
<i>ceyṭala:l</i>	since (someone) does
<i>puṇarntamai aṭiya:r</i>	without knowing that they copulated

etc. show that these verbal nouns are used as nouns in casual relations.

TOL makes use of the term *tolirpeyar* in various cutras 618, 624 etc. and from the examples given by various commentators we can safely conclude that by this he means only the derivative nouns and the participial nouns. All the cutrams in *eḷuttu* (Chapter on Phonology) (296, 298, 306, 309, 327, 345, 376, 401, 403) refer only to derivative nouns like

<i>uriṇ</i>	rubbing
<i>poruṇ</i>	suitability
<i>maṇ</i>	washing
<i>muraṇ</i>	contradiction
<i>miṇ</i>	lightning; flash

etc. which are considered as derivative nouns. And therefore, they have to be treated as derivative nouns and not verbal nouns.

In cut. 618 and 624 he makes use of the term *tolir peyar* denoting participial nouns though he makes use of *viṇaip peyar kiḷavi* (653) and *viṇaip peyar* (650) also to denote the same. But the name '*tolir peyar*' is now used to denote verbal nouns (action nouns) and TOL has not mentioned any thing about this explicitly though it can be inferred that by *tolilnūlaiyoṭṭum oṇṭalan kaṭaiye* (IOL. 554) he means both participial nouns and verbal nouns of the type *vantamai*, *vantatu* etc.

There are six markers viz. *-al*, *-tal*, and *-ttal* and *kkaḷ*, *-atu* and *-amai* in Old Tamil denoting verbal nouns. Of all these *-al* is found to be more predominant than other markers though the occurrence of it is dictated by the selection of verb roots.

8.1.

-al

-al occurs immediately after the weak and middle verb stems and it is also in free variation with *-tal*, though it is more predominant than *-tal*.

<i>aruḷal</i>	the act of being benevolent	AK	108-1
<i>celal</i>	the act of going	IN	498-4
<i>ku:tal</i>	the act of saying	NR	17-7
<i>uṇal</i>	the act of drinking	KL	20-11
<i>uṇal</i>	the act of eating	PAR	V-6
<i>koḷal</i>	the act of having	PP	2-74
<i>uḷḷal</i>	the act of thinking	TK	396-1
<i>pukaḷ</i>	the act of entering	CIL	2-20
<i>ko:tal</i>	the act of killing	MM	16-84
<i>a:ṭal</i>	the act of dancing	PT	56-2

It has been said that *-al* and *-tal* are in free variation with weak verbs though in certain cases we find some morphophonemic changes (*koḷ + tal > ko:tal*). In this connection mention has to be made that *-al* is more predominant than *-tal* in many of the OT texts. For example in PR there are 154 occurrences of *-al* whereas there are only 100 of *-tal*. But in TK and MM *-tal* is found to have got slight edge over *-al*. In TK there are 99

occurrences of *-tal* but only 92 of *-al*. In MM *-tal* is found to have 145 occurrences whereas *-al* 136.

Though theoretically it is possible to have both *-al* and *-tal* with all weak verbs, in actual occurrences they are found to be in free variation only with about 20 verbs and they are all given below for ready reference. Examples from the same texts wherever possible are given below.

- | | | | | | |
|------------------|------------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 1. <i>aṇṇkal</i> | the act of distressing | NR 358-5 | 9. <i>oṃpal</i> | the act of protecting | TK 642 |
| <i>aṇṇkutaḷ</i> | the act of distressing | NR 245-9 | <i>oṃputaḷ</i> | the act of protecting | TK 322 |
| 2. <i>alal</i> | the act of crying | KR 35-5 | 10. <i>keḷal</i> | the act of perishing | TK 612 |
| | | AK 120-9 | <i>keḷutaḷ</i> | the act of perishing | TK 208 |
| | | IN 320-2 | 11. <i>paḷal</i> | the act of behaving | AK 95-15 |
| | | NR 371-7 | | the act of sleeping | KL 10-13 |
| <i>aḷutaḷ</i> | the act of crying | KR 256-7 | | the act of becoming | PAR II-34 |
| | | AK 11-14 | | the act of entangling | CIL 15-79 |
| | | IN 430-4 | <i>paḷutaḷ</i> | the act of behaving | AK 26-16 |
| | | NR 128-6 | | the act of sleeping | KL 48-22 |
| 3. <i>aḥkal</i> | the act of becoming | PT 16-9 | | the act of sleeping | PAR XI-38 |
| | | IN 17-3 | | the act of appearing | PP 2-59 |
| | | KL 62-6 | | the act of appearing | CIL 10-4-4 |
| | | TK 372 | 12. <i>pukaḷ</i> | the act of entering | AK 87-5 |
| <i>aḥtal</i> | the act of becoming | PT 17-3 | <i>pukaḷutaḷ</i> | the act of entering | MM 15-80 |
| <i>aḥkutaḷ</i> | the act of becoming | MM 29-225 | | the act of entering | AK 354-11 |
| | | PT 32-17 | | | MM 11-58 |
| | | IN 36-5 | 13. <i>peṛal</i> | the act of getting | IN 260-2 |
| | | KL 14-9 | | | TK 213 |
| | | TK 683 | <i>peṛutaḷ</i> | the act of getting | IN 442-2 |
| 4. <i>aḥṛṛal</i> | the act of bearing | KL 17-9 | | | TK 1190 |
| <i>aḥṛṛutaḷ</i> | the act of bearing | KL 133-6 | 14. <i>poḥkal</i> | the act of going | AK 167-15 |
| 5. <i>uḥḷal</i> | the act of resenting | TK 1326 | | | NK 183-5 |
| <i>uḥḷutaḷ</i> | the act of resenting | TK 1330 | <i>poḥtaḷ</i> | the act of going | AK 55-17 |
| 6. <i>eytal</i> | the act of attaining | MM 9-32 | | | NR 191-12 |
| <i>eytutaḷ</i> | the act of attaining | MM 26-37 | 15. <i>taṛal</i> | the act of earning | AK 3-12 |
| 7. <i>eḥkal</i> | the act of going | AK 261-8 | | | KL 4-7 |
| <i>eḥkutaḷ</i> | the act of going | AK 283-8 | <i>taṛutaḷ</i> | the act of earning | AK 123-5 |
| 8. <i>oḷukaḷ</i> | the act of behaving | KL 39-2 | | | KL 7-20 |
| | | TK 140 | 16. <i>taṇṇkal</i> | the act of daring | NR 88-7 |
| <i>oḷukutaḷ</i> | the act of behaving | KL 133-8 | <i>taṇṇkutaḷ</i> | the act of daring | NR 39-3 |
| | | TK 444 | 17. <i>teṛal</i> | affliction | AK 13-3 |
| | | | | the act of destroying | NR 189-3 |
| | | | <i>teṛutaḷ</i> | | KL 20-4 |
| | | | | the act of scorching | AK 1-10 |
| | | | 18. <i>nakaḷ</i> | | NR 164-2 |
| | | | | | KL 2-5 |
| | | | <i>nakaḷutaḷ</i> | the act of smiling | KL 143-2 |
| | | | | | TK 860 |
| | | | | the act of smiling | KL 94-35 |
| | | | | | TK 784 |

19.	<i>ni:nkal</i>	the act of leaving	AK 67-3
	<i>ni:nkuta</i>	the act of leaving	AK 51-14
20.	<i>varal</i>	the act of coming	KR 35-5
			AK 18-2
			NR 56-6
			KL 116-9
			PAR VI-42
			PP 10-473
			MM 17-25
	<i>varuta</i>	the act of coming	KR 88-4
			AK 2-15
			IN 66-4
			NR 192-6
			KL 99-6
			PAR IV-32
			PP 5-20
			MM 24-73
21.	<i>vi:tal</i>	the act of leaving	IN 427-2
			KL 3-14
	<i>vi:ta</i>	the act of leaving	IN 242-3
			KL 70-7

In the case of the verb *a:ku* there are three forms which are all in free variation.

<i>a:kal</i>	the act of becoming
<i>a:tal</i>	the act of becoming
<i>a:kuta</i>	the act of becoming

It is true that *-al* and *-tal* are in free variation with the weak verbs. But mention has to be made that *-al* can also occur as a suffix in certain derivative nouns; but this is not the case with *-tal*. Examples like.

<i>ceyal</i>	act	PR 50-17
<i>olukal</i>	conduct	PR 216-4

show this quality.

There are a few occurrences in OT where we find the lengthening of the vowel of the suffix (*al > a:l*)

<i>ka:al</i>	the act of washing	PR 345-4
<i>ko:al</i>	the act of inflaming	AK 47-10

<i>varuttu:al</i>	the act of vexing	AK 55-3
<i>ora:al</i>	the act of removing	TK 662

8.2.

-tal

-tal is found to occur after middle verb stems though *-al* is also in free variation with few verbs. But verbs like *ke:l*, *e:l*, *vil*, *kal*, *to:l* and *nil* take only *-tal*.

<i>upa</i>	the act of eating	KR 262-5
		KR 67-5
<i>upa</i>	the act of eating	KL 20-11
		KL 47-10
		TK 229
		TK 82
		MM 7-32
		MM 17-35
<i>ka:na</i>	the act of seeing	AK 220-9
		AK 66-11
<i>ka:na</i>	the act of seeing	TK 1244;
		TK 1213
<i>ena</i>	the act of saying	TK 196
		TK 181
<i>ena</i>	the act of saying	MM 29-60
		MM 21-52
<i>ke:ta</i>	the act of hearing	PR 216-1
<i>upa</i>	the act of eating	KR 167-5
<i>ve:ta</i>	the act of doing	
	sacrifice	PT 24-6
<i>ina</i>	the act of eating	AK 156-4
<i>ka:na</i>	the act of seeing	IN 309-4
<i>ena</i>	the act of saying	NR 61-5
<i>ena</i>	the act of saying	KL 90-28
<i>upa</i>	the act of eating	TK 82
<i>ve:ta</i>	the act of doing	
	sacrifice	CIL 22-148

It is also worth mentioning that there are four verbs in OT where we find lengthening of the first syllable vowel when they take *-tal* as verbal noun suffix.

<i>ko:al</i>	the act of having	KL 86-30
		TK 646

		CIL	8-62	8.4.		
		MM	27-22	-kkal		
<i>ko:ral</i>	the act of killing	TK	321			
		CIL	20-64	<i>uraikkal</i>	the act of telling	NR 109-5
		MM	16-84	<i>unakkal</i>	the act of drying	NR 45-6
<i>ce:ral</i>	the act of going	KR	355-3	<i>ninaikkal</i>	the act of remembering	NR 297-5
		AK	221-14	<i>irukkal</i>	the act of staying	KL 144-29
		KL	92-4	<i>eṭukkal</i>	the act of lifting	KL 38-5
		PAR VIII-85		<i>poṟukkal</i>	the act of tolerating	KL 58-21
		CIL	30-137	<i>mo:kkaḷ</i>	the act of smelling	KL 54-8
		MM	15-35	<i>niraikkal</i>	the act of filling up	KL 43-26
<i>ve:ral</i>	the act of winning	PR	45-6	<i>naṭakkal</i>	the act of happening	KL 39-35
8.3.				<i>uraikkal</i>	the act of telling	TK 1271
-ttal						
-ttal occurs after the strong verbs though it is possible for us to consider this also as -tal setting up an x in the verb stem as has been done by Lisker (1951, 71:111-114) and followed by many others. It is treated separately here for convenience and for ready reference. In certain verbs -ttal and -kkal are in free variation. In this connection mention has to be made that the -kkal occurs only in a very few occurrences in OT.						
<i>tiraattal</i>	the act of opening	PR	44-11	It is also found that these markers are also added after the causative markers -vi-, -pi-, and -ppi-.		
<i>ulaattal</i>	the act of suffering	KR	302-2	<i>ce:r vittal</i>	the act of making some one to copulate	PAR XII-74
<i>tuyittal</i>	the act of enjoying	PT	15-30	<i>unaṛppittal</i>	the act of making some one to instruct	PAR XVIII-13
<i>maṛaattal</i>	the act of forgetting	AK	301-28			
<i>iruattal</i>	the act of staying	IN	451-4			
<i>uraittal</i>	the act of telling	NR	244-5			
<i>iruttal</i>	the act of staying	KL	23-4			
<i>poṛuttal</i>	the act of tolerating	KL	133-14			
<i>kilaattal</i>	the act of telling	PAR III-62				
<i>mujittal</i>	the act of completing	PP	3-213			
<i>koṇuttal</i>	the act of giving	TK	525	8.5.		
<i>uraiattal</i>	the act of telling	TK	1162	-atu		
<i>vaiattal</i>	the act of placing	CIL	26-65	-atu occurs after various past and non-past markers though it is found only in a few of the OT texts There is also a solitary occurrence of -atu after a negative marker -a:t- in the whole of OT texts.		
<i>uraiattal</i>	the act of telling	MM	27-34	8.5.1.		
				after past		
				-atu is found to occur after non-past in KR (1) KL (8), PAR (8), TK (12), MM (9). It is not found in PT.		
				<i>payiliyatu</i>	the act of acquainting	KR 2-3
				<i>ninratu</i>	the act of standing	KL 66-16
				<i>amarntatu</i>	the act of sitting	PAR XXI-11

It is also found that these markers are also added after the causative markers *-vi-*, *-pi-*, and *-ppi-*.

ce:rvittal the act of making
some one to copulate PAR XII-74

unarppttal the act of making
some one to instruct PAR XVIII-13

8.5.

-atu

-atu occurs after various past and non-past markers though it is found only in a few of the OT texts. There is also a solitary occurrence of *-atu* after a negative marker *-a:t-* in the whole of OT texts.

8.5.1.

after past

-*atu* is found to occur after non-past in KR (1) KL (8), PAR (8), TK (12), MM (9). It is not found in PT.

<i>pyilyiyatu</i>	the act of acquainting	KR	2-3
<i>nin̄ratu</i>	the act of standing	KL	66-16
<i>amarntatu</i>	the act of sitting	PAR XXI-13	

<i>aṛintatu</i>	the act of knowing	TK	1226
<i>taṇkiyatu</i>	the act of staying	MM	14-82 ¹

8.5.2

after non-past

-atu is found to occur in this environment in PR (1), KR (4), IN (6), KL (45), PAR (5), TK (58), MM (35).

<i>iṣvatu</i>	the act of giving	PR	316-8
<i>aṇcuvatu</i>	the act of fearing	KR	80-4
<i>iḷappatu</i>	the act of losing	IN	30-4
<i>aṛikuṣvatu</i>	the act of knowing	IN	248-3
<i>celvatu</i>	the act of going	KL	5-18
<i>nikalyatu</i>	the act of happening	PAR	XX-90
<i>aḷappatu</i>	the act of measuring	TK	796
<i>tirivatu</i>	the act of wandering	MM	5-107 ¹

8.5.3.

after negative -a:t-

<i>a:ka:tatu</i>	the act of not becoming	TK	1291
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8.6.

-amai

It occurs after various past tense markers and negative *-a:-*. As has been pointed out earlier, negative is found to occur only with *-amai* though there is a solitary instance of *-mai* which is also found to occur with another negative marker *-al-* in PR.

8.6.1.

after past marker

<i>uṇarntamai</i>	the act of knowing (in the past)	PR	394-14
<i>puṇarntamai</i>	the act of copulation	KR	191-3

<i>puṇarntamai</i>	the act of copulation	AK	112-15
<i>tantamai</i>	the act of giving	NR	282-4
<i>vantamai</i>	the act of coming	KL	98-7
<i>paṇintamai</i>	the act of worshiping	PAR	I-12
<i>tuṛantamai</i>	the act of parting	TK	1157
<i>iḷantamai</i>	the act of losing	CIL	29-1-23

8.6.2.

after negative -a:-

<i>po:ka:mai</i>	the act of not going	PR	223-2
<i>pa:ṭa:mai</i>	the act of not becoming	PT	90-16
<i>nilla:mai</i>	the act of not standing	KR	143-3
<i>va:ra:mai</i>	the act of not coming	AK	25-15
<i>va:ra:mai</i>	the act of not coming	IN	261-4
<i>ve:ṇṭa:mai</i>	the act of not desiring	NR	308-4
<i>aruḷa:mai</i>	the act of not granting	KL	54-4
<i>ka:ṇa:mai</i>	the act of not seeing	PAR	XIX-64
<i>ve:ṇṭa:mai</i>	the act of not desiring	TK	363
<i>va:ḷa:mai</i>	the act of not living	CIL	28-212

8.6.3.

after -al-

<i>po:kaṇmai</i>	the act of not reaching	PR	223-2
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1 Also see KL 83-24; 66-17; 90-12; 107-10; 56-3; 56-5; 105-58. PAR IV-23; XI-48; XI-49; XII-35; VI-57; VIII-103; VIII-77; TK 365; 942; 943; 129; 35; 779; 552; 550; 1215; 1071; 1171; MM 2-25; 6-152; 3-12; 30-15; 7-134; 25-200; 23-91; 30-15.

2 Also see KR 80-4; 237-1; 289-4; IN 23-4; 29-5; 24-5, KL 133-8; 134-5; 100-8; etc. PAR III-69; VIII-60; XI-36; XIX-7; TK 744; 461; 293; 718 etc. MM 5-107; 22-138 29-72 etc.

9.0.

Derivative nouns

It is well known that not only verbal nouns but certain substantives are also derived from verbs. These nouns, though they are derived from verbs behave exactly like pure nouns, taking various attributes like adjective, genitive, numeral adjective etc and are declined to various cases and plural markers. Like nouns they are also inflected to various gender markers as pointed out by Kamaleswaran (1974).

In this connection it has to be mentioned that while the verbal nouns always occur in a complex or compound sentences like

avan varutal nanru 'It is good that he comes'
avan varutal kanje:n 'I saw him coming'

the derivative nouns can be found even in simple sentences. Caldwell (1956 : 544) calls these nouns as derivative nouns or verbal derivatives and we prefer former to the latter.

Example like

<i>tunṇaruṇ ci:ṭṭam</i>	the anger which people cannot pacify	PT 15-2
<i>nuṇ uṇaru</i>	minute knowledge	PR 360-3
<i>tuṭai po:kiya tuṇivu</i>	excellent bravery	PT 14-6
<i>kamaḷum na:ṭṭam</i>	the fragrance which comes out	PT 21-14
<i>urutta no:kkam</i>	the look which will show the anger	PT 52-25
<i>a:ṇṭa aṇivu</i>	the knowledge which shows experience	PT 57-12
<i>cuṭar viṣu to:ṭṭam</i>	appearance which emanates brightness	PT 74-14
<i>vaḷam vi:ṇku</i>	the affluence which comes	
<i>perukkam</i>	out of wealth	PT 24-17
<i>nin perunkaḷi makilpu</i>	your good pleasure	PT 12-25
<i>nin.....etirppai</i>	opposition to you	PR 133-4

<i>nin kurai</i>	your fault,	NR 102-3
<i>en kurai</i>	my fault	NR 102-3
<i>i:raṭivu</i>	two types of knowledge	PT 74-18

etc. show that the derivative nouns take all kinds of attributes like regular substantives. In 1 and 2 the derivative nouns *ci:ṭṭam* and *uṇaru* take regular adjectives *arum* 'difficult' and *nuṇ* 'minute' respectively. Similarly in 3 to 6 we find various relative participles, occurring as attributes to various derivative nouns and this kind of examples can be multiplied to any number from OT texts. It is also to be mentioned that in 7 and 8 relative participle bases *viṣu* and *vi:ṇku* are found to be in construction with the derivative nouns *to:ṭṭam* and *perukkam* respectively. Like regular substantives, derivative nouns also take various genitive expressions like *nin*, *en* etc. Numeral adjectives are also found to occur before derivative nouns.

It is also to be mentioned that in compounds also, derivative nouns are found.

<i>maṇa:lak kalavai</i>	vermillion mixture	PT 11-10
<i>teyvattukku:ṭṭam</i>	crowd of Gods	PT 88-24
<i>celavin ya:nai</i>	elephants of great journey	PT 77-11

etc. show that like pure nouns, derivative nouns are also found in the compounds.

As pointed out by Kamaleswaran (1974:10) these nouns can also take gender number markers as found in the following:

<i>va:ḷkkaiye:n</i>	of the life-I	CIL 16-82
<i>i:rukkaiye:n</i>	of the state-I	PR 371-8
<i>to:ṭṭatto:n</i>	of the appearance-he	MM 27-93
<i>irukkaiya!</i>	of the state-she	AK 289-14
<i>irukkaiyar</i>	of the state-they	PR 41-13
<i>ke:ṭṭiyar</i>	they who have the knowledge	CIL 10-56
<i>a:kaiyar</i>	drinkers	PR 391-6

Like pure nouns, these nouns also take various case markers and all kinds of inflectional increments.

<i>a:kkattai</i>	wealth (acc.)	TK	113
<i>a:liya:l</i>	knowledge (acc.)	TK	532
<i>u:lla:mo:tu</i>	with mind	PT	36-3
<i>aru:lo:tu</i>	with grace	TK	755
<i>ko:ta:ya:n</i>	because of the		
	garland	PR	48-1
<i>u:lla:ta:l</i>	with mind	TK	282
<i>ke:liya:l</i>	because of question	TK	418
<i>ec:at:tu:ku</i>	to the successors	TK	112
<i>u:lla:tu:l</i>	in the mind	TK	1130
<i>ceyalil</i>	in the action	MM	29-241
<i>a:lavinku:n</i>	in the measure	TK	286
<i>u:la:ta:nnil</i>	in the mind	MM	24-130
<i>a:li:vil</i>	in the knowledge	PT	57-12

show this phenomenon.

9.1.

Formation of Derivative Nouns

Derivative nouns are formed by various processes and also by the addition of various derivative noun markers. Lengthening of initial and the final syllable vowels, hardening of the homorganic nasals and doubling of the final consonants are found to play a prominent role in the formation of derivative nouns which remind the formation of transitives. In this connection it has to be mentioned that all the verbs of the same structure do not undergo the same changes in the formation and it is highly unpredictable. For example, while the verb

ke:tu > *ke:tu*

verbs like

vi:tu
na:tu
e:tu
ko:tu

etc. do not undergo the change. This is also the case with other processes.

9.1.1.

By various processes

9.1.1.1.

Lengthening

Lengthening is a process by which verbal nouns are made from various verb stems like *ke:tu*, *a:tu* etc.

In PT, it is found to occur with five verbs though there are a few more in other OT texts.

<i>ke:tu</i>	damage	PT	79-19
<i>u:tu</i>	approach	PT	51-32; 74-15
<i>ko:l</i>	taking	PT	24-18
<i>mi:n</i>	star	PT	31-28

9.1.1.2.

Hardening

Derivative nouns are also formed by hardening the homorganic nasal of the verb roots. In PT the followings are found.

<i>mp</i> > <i>pp</i>			
<i>vi:ruppu</i>	desire	PT	12-10
<i>nik</i> > <i>kk</i>			
<i>vi:lakku</i>	brightness	PT	31-25
<i>nc</i> > <i>cc</i>			
<i>accu</i>	terror	PT	90-2
<i>with -am</i>			
<i>accam</i>	terror	PT	22-2
<i>gr</i> > <i>rr</i> (with -am)			
<i>to:rram</i>	appearance	PT	14-14

9.1.1.3.

Doubling

As mentioned earlier derivative nouns are also formed by doubling the final consonants of certain verb roots or verb stems.

k > k k (with -am)

perukkam prosperity PT 24-17

ṛ > ṛ ṛ (with -am)

ku:ṛṛam the god of death PT 51-35

ci:ṛṛam anger PT 15-2

na:ṛṛam fragrance PT 21-14

ṭ > ṭṭ (with -am)

ku:ṭṭam crowd PT 88-24

In the other texts we find examples for

t > tt

eḷuttu writing IN 352-2

eḷuttu script TK 1392

9.1.2.

By the addition of Derivative noun markers

In PT there are 22 derivative noun markers viz. -*ḥ*- -*ai*-, -*akam*-, -*am*-, -*al*-, -*avu*-, -*t*-, -*uḷ*-, -*kai*-, -*kkai*-, -*ci*-, -*icil*-, -*cci*-, -*ti*-, -*pu*-, -*ppu*-, -*m*-, -*mai*-, -*val*-, -*vai*-, -*vi*-, and -*vu* though in OT we find a few more like -*ar*-, -*araḷ*-, -*a:r* -*ka:tu*-, -*ku*-, -*kku*-, -*cai*-, -*tam*-, -*tu*-, -*tai*-, -*ttam*-, -*ttu*-, -*ppam*-, -*ppai*-, and -*vaiy*-. Kamaleswaran has dealt with them in detail in his 'Tamil Nouns' (Dissertation submitted to Annamalai University, 1975).

9.1.2.1.

-*ḥ*

In PT and other OT texts there are many verb stems which are used as derivative nouns and they are treated as having -*ḥ*- marker here.

<i>aṇi</i>	ornament	PT 51-9
<i>aṇcu</i>	terror	PT 79-17
<i>aḷal</i>	mar	PT 13-25
<i>aḷal</i>	fire	PT 19-20
<i>aḷi</i>	mercy	PT 87-15
<i>ikal</i>	hostility	PT 14-13
<i>icai</i>	sound	PT 40-3
	fame	PT 11-5

<i>tṭi</i>	thunder	PT 46-4
<i>uruḷ</i>	wheel	PT 4-7
<i>uṛaḷ</i>	contrast	PT 52-10
<i>ceṭu</i>	beating	PT 41-23
<i>narai</i>	greying	PT 74-24
<i>niṛai</i>	collection	PT 13-4
<i>no:y</i>	dying	PT 84-16
<i>pukai</i>	smoke	PT 20-20
<i>pukaḷ</i>	fame	PT 2-8
<i>min</i>	lightning	PT 81-26

9.1.2.2.

-*ai*

<i>arai</i>	cut	PT 75-6
<i>koḷai</i>	gift	PT 20-23
<i>kolai</i>	murder	PT 10-1
<i>iakai</i>	nature	PT 60-7
<i>toḷai</i>	discharge	PT 28-4
<i>koḷḷai</i>	plunder	PT 19-1
<i>nilai</i>	standing	PT 64-7
<i>mikai</i>	plenty	PT 67-20
<i>naḷai</i>	walk	PT 44-7
<i>paraḷ</i>	flying	PT 67-20
<i>vakai</i>	kind	PT 31-22

9.1.2.3.

-*akam*

<i>aviḷakam</i>	flower	PT 52-19
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9.1.2.4.

-*am*

<i>akalam</i>	chest	PT 63-4
<i>accam</i>	terror	PT 22-2
<i>araṇam</i>	protection	PT 17-8
<i>uvamam</i>	comparison	PT 73-3
<i>uḷḷam</i>	mind	PT 36-3
<i>eccam</i>	reminders	PT 74-25
<i>o:cam</i>	eminence	PT 41-20
<i>ku:ṭṭam</i>	crowd	PT 88-24
<i>ku:ṛṛam</i>	the god of death	PT 51-35
<i>cinam</i>	anger	PT 16-7
<i>ci:ṛṛam</i>	fury	PT 15-2
<i>cuṛṛam</i>	relation	PT 12-24

<i>to:tram</i>	appearance	PT	14-14	9.1.2.10.			
<i>na:tram</i>	fragrance	PT	21-14	-kkai			
<i>ni:rai:am</i>	distress	PT	15-31	<i>irukkai</i>	seat	PT	30-23
<i>nilam</i>	land	PT	20-13	<i>va:lkkai</i>	life	PT	48-15
<i>nu:akkam</i>	trembling	PT	51-11				
<i>no:kkam</i>	look	PT	52-23	9.1.2.11.			
<i>perukkam</i>	prosperity	PT	24-17	-ci			
<i>va:ram</i>	famine	PT	23-2				
<i>vaiyam</i>	world	PT	90-9	<i>ma:ici</i>	glory	PT	42-6
9.1.2.5.				9.1.2.12.			
-al				-icil			
<i>ariyal</i>	fermented liquor	PT	40-18	<i>a:icil</i>	cooked rice	PT	45-13
<i>a:tal</i>	dancing	PT	56-2				
<i>a:tal</i>	strength	PT	28-6	9.1.2.13.			
<i>pa:yal</i>	bed	PT	16-14	-cci			
<i>va:tal</i>	famine	PT	28-9	<i>va:lcci</i>	life	PT	56-7
9.1.2.6.				9.1.2.14.			
-avu				-ti			
<i>aravu</i>	cessation	PT	89-4	<i>to:uti</i>	collection	PT	14-16
<i>ulavu</i>	ploughing	PT	15-12				
<i>celavu</i>	going	PT	77-11	9.1.2.15.			
<i>ka:lavu</i>	removing	PT	24-13	-pu			
9.1.2.7.				<i>akalpu</i>	separation	PT	43-13
-i				<i>atirpu</i>	trembling	PT	31-29
<i>akali</i>	moat	PT	53-8	<i>ilipu</i>	the act of removing	PT	24-12
<i>uru:li</i>	wheel	PT	27-11	<i>karpu</i>	chastity	PT	16-10
9.1.2.8.				9.1.2.16.			
-u:				-ppu			
<i>uraiyu:</i>	residence	PT	68-8	<i>uruppu</i>	anger	PT	50-16
<i>ceyyu:</i>	poetry	PT	5-23	<i>a:uppu</i>	oven	PT	63-19
<i>vi:aiyu:</i>	produce	PT	60-8	<i>a:rppu</i>	sound	PT	21-18
9.1.2.9.				<i>imalppu</i>	glitter	PT	45-21
-kai				<i>cilaippu</i>	resounding	PT	52-15
<i>ko:kat</i>	chastity	PT	15-29	<i>ci:ruppu</i>	superiority	PT	11-11
<i>i:kai</i>	giving	PT	42-13	<i>takaippu</i>	protection	PT	64-7
<i>uvakai</i>	pleasure	PT	9-P	<i>pilaippu</i>	failure	PT	21-30
<i>olukai</i>	cart	PT	44-17	<i>malarppu</i>	the act of widening	PT	63-5
<i>ve:ikai</i>	desire	PT	15-31	<i>viruppu</i>	desire	PT	12-10
				<i>vaippu</i>	village	PT	15-8

9.1.2.17.

-m

cinam

anger

PT 16-7

9.1.2.18.

-mai

arumai

difficulty

PT 90-15

ariya:mai

ignorance

PT 15-14

inmai

nothingness

PT 68-5

uṭaimai

possession

PT 90-14

oṇmai

knowledge

PT 70-13

citurmai

distress

PT 26-9

vai:ymai

truth

PT 70-22

vemmai

severity

PT 28-4

aḷavu

measure

PT 73-13

aṇiyu

knowledge

PT 74-18

kaḷaiyu

removal

PT 19-9

celavu

going

PT 77-11

makilyu

happiness

PT 12-25

puṭavu

protection

PT 69-11

oṇiyu

bending

PT 80-9

tuṇiyu

determination

PT 44-6

meliyu

weakness

PT 24-9

nociyu

bending

PT 45-3

viḷaiyu

produce

PT 28-5

In addition to the above markers, as mentioned earlier, there are a few more markers in OT.

pinnakam

braided hair

AK 9-22

1. ar

veppar

food

PR 269-4

toṭar

chain

PR 74-3

cuṭar

brightness

AK 7-8

viṭar

cleft

AK 22-12

2. -arai

cuṇaṇkarai

sexual union

PAR 9-20

3. -a:r

puka:r

mouth of a river

AK 190-11

4. -ka:ṭu

ca:kka:ṭu

death

TK 339

5. -ttam

koṭṭam

victory

PR 21-11

ve:ṭṭam

desire

PR 31-5

veṭṭam

victory

PP 6-73

6. -ttu

i:ṭṭu

delivery

PR 82-1

NR 179-1

7. -tu

ve:tu

fermentation

KL 106-36

8. -tai

ko:tai

garland

AK 49-16

Note that -mai occurs after the negative marker -a: and appellative bases also.

9.1.2.19.

-vai

aḷavai

measure

PT 55-13

ulavat

drying

PT 39-12

kalavai

mixture

PT 11-10

po:rvaṭi

net

PT 39-13

mukavai

bucket

PT 22-14

9.1.2.20.

-val

pa:rval

sight

PT 21-27

9.1.2.21.

-vi

ke:ṭvi

hearing, knowledge

PT 70-18

PT 64-4

ve:ṭvi

sacrifice

PT 64-4

9.1.2.22.

-vu

acaiyu

instability

PT 69-11

atiryu

trembling

PT 81-8

9. -ppai

<i>etirppai</i>	the act of giving	
	back	TK 221-2
		PR 163-4

10. -va:y

<i>v:ṭuva:y</i>	clefting place	AK 53-3
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10.0.

Participial noun

In Tamil and other Dravidian languages we find a grammatical category called participial noun which functions both as noun and verb. Participial noun is a verbal category and it is derived from verb. Like finite verb, it is also inflected to various pronominal markers and it also denotes both number and gender in the third person and number alone in the first and second persons. Though in MOT one and the same form (*vantavan*) is used in all the persons as in

<i>na:ṇta:n vantavan</i>	It is I who came
<i>ni:ta:n vantavan</i>	It is you who came
<i>avaṇta:n vantavan</i>	It is he who came

we find separate forms with separate endings in OT. Examples like

<i>onṭe:n</i>	I who will not unite	KR 208-2
<i>varuvi:r</i>	you (Pl.) who	
	will come	KR 118-4
<i>vantavan</i>	he who came	PR 217-8
<i>vantavaḷ</i>	she who came	PR 344 9
<i>ceṇṭa:r</i>	they who went	PR 337-3
<i>aṭṭatu</i>	that (someone)	
	killed	PR 77-12
<i>uṭupparai</i>	they which someone	
	will wear	PR 189-5

can be found in all OT texts.

It is true that nouns like *varuva:n* 'he who will come' also behave like participial nouns in certain respects and they are treated along with participial nouns by many. But there are certain differences

in their structures and therefore they are treated separately under conjugated nouns.

Like verbal nouns *varutal* 'the act of coming', *vantatu* 'the act of coming' (past), participial nouns also behave like verbs and they take all kinds of adverbs as in:

<i>paḷutiṇṇi vantavan</i>	he who came without	
	any flaw	PR 217-8
<i>uṭaṇṭu eṇiva:n</i>	he who fights angrily	
		PR 296-4
<i>paṭarṇamāi ariya:n</i>	he who has not	
	known that some one	
	has become week	KR 74-3

Mention has to be made that as finite verbs it also shows various tenses though nouns with -n (*varunan* etc. conjugated nouns) do not show any contrast in tenses.

<i>vantavan</i>	he who came	PR 217-8
<i>koṭutto:y</i>	you (sg.) who	
	gave (voc.)	PR 2-16
<i>vantavaḷ</i>	she who came	PR 344-9
<i>keṇṭaṇar</i>	they who had	PR 373-30
<i>iyaḷvo:ḷ</i>	she who will go	PR 353-4
<i>eḷuve:n</i>	I who will rise	PR 150-8
<i>celva:y</i>	you who will go	KL 95-2

Note that like verbs, it is also inflected to negatives.

<i>peṇaṭṭi:r</i>	who (had) not	
	deliver(ed)	PR 9-4
<i>a:ṇṇa:te:m</i>	we who will not	
	try	IN 111-5
<i>aṇiya:n</i>	he who will	
	not know	KR 74-3
<i>tuyilalaḷ</i>	she who will	
	not sleep	KL 45-18
<i>toḷa:r</i>	they who will	
	not worship	PAR III-19

In OT there are three types of participial nouns, viz.

- (1) Those which are inflected to all pronominal terminations, negative and all tenses. They are marked by $-\phi-$. It is also to be mentioned that they are all homophonous to their corresponding finite verbal forms.

<i>viṭṭe:n</i>	I who won	KL 63-7
<i>me:viṇam</i>	we who fitted	KR 270-6
<i>paṭṭinaṭ</i>	you who caught	KL 116-2
<i>irinta:n</i>	he who ran	PR 284-8
<i>onre:n</i>	I who will not	
	unite	KR 208-1
<i>imaiya:n</i>	he who will not	
	close	PR 290-4

- (2) Those which are inflected to the third person terminations, negatives and all tenses. They are marked by $-av-$. It is to be mentioned that unlike $-\phi-$ type these nouns are not homophonous to any finite forms.

<i>vantavan</i>	he who came	PR 217-8
<i>vantavaṭ</i>	she who came	PR 344-9
<i>añca:tavar</i>	he (Hon. Sg.) who	
	will not fear	KL 34-9

- (3) Those which are inflected to only one tense namely non-past which is always denoted by $-n-$. There are only a few cases where it is inflected to I and II persons. The vast majority of the cases are inflected only to III person. It is also worth mentioning that these nouns are not inflected to negative and since these nouns are slightly different from the other two types, they are dealt with separately and are called conjugated nouns. But the first and the second types are dealt with together as one grammatical category with two markers $-\phi-$ and $-av-$.

TOL does not say anything about these markers though its commentators give various examples with $-\phi-$ and $-av-$.

TOL. makes use of three names *vinaiṭṭeyar* (Cu. 653) *toṭṭiṭṭeyar* (Cu. 618, 624) and *vinaiṭṭeyar* (Cu. 650) to denote participial nouns. Ilam (Col. 130, 136, 162, 165) has given not only the participial nouns like

<i>uṇṭa:n</i>	he who ate (130)
<i>uṇṭa:r</i>	they who ate (136)
<i>varuva</i>	they which will come (165)

etc. as examples but caste names like

<i>taccan</i>	carpenter (162)
<i>kollan</i>	blacksmith (162)

etc. as well. This is also the case with Cen. (Cu. 133, 139, 165, 168) and Nac. (Col. 135, 141, 167, 170) who give examples like *taccan kollan* (Cen. 165) *taṭṭa:r* 'goldsmith' *vaṇṇa:r* 'dhoby' (Nac. 167) etc. But it must be noted that TOL. uses the same epithet *vinaiṭṭeyarkkiṭṭavi* for the non-human also (Cu. 653) in which we cannot have any correspondence to the caste names and that is why all the commentators excluding Ilam, Cen. and Nac. give only the participial nouns and not any caste names as examples.

<i>varuva</i>	they which will come	(Ilam. 165)
<i>celya</i>	they which will go	(„)
<i>varuvatu</i>	that which will come	(Cen. 168)
<i>celvatu</i>	that which will go	(„)

Therefore we can safely conclude that TOL does not intend to include caste names under *vinaiṭṭeyar* and Dei. (128, 134, 160, 163) and Kai (136, 142, 168) rightly give only the participial nouns as examples and they do not include the caste names.

Of the two markers $-\phi-$ is very predominant and it outnumbers $-av-$ in OT. It is worthy to note that there are 3 occurrences of $-av-$ in PT, 2 in KR, 4 in NR and 6 in IN and so on. The following table gives the picture very clearly.

	- ϕ -	-ay-
pR	749	16
KR	375	2
PT	200	3
AK	1072	19
IN	262	6
NR	236	4
KL	1163	220
PAR	204	40
PP	209	13
TK	904	163
CIL	1115	42
MM	786	30

Mention has to be made here that in PT the marker - ϕ - occurs only with third person whereas in other OT texts it occurs with first and second persons also.

10.1. - ϕ -

In PT - ϕ - is found to occur after

1. past markers - only with -o:n, -a!, -ar, -o:r, -atu and -a.
2. non past-only with -o:!, -ar, -o:r, -atu and -a
3. a) negative - ϕ - only with -a:!, and -a:r.
b) negative -a:t- only with -o:r
c) negative -a:-only with - ϕ -
4. appellative stems-only with -an, -o:n, -o:!, -ar, -a:r, -o:r and -a.

though it occurs with various other markers in the other OT texts.

10.1.1. after past markers

First person singular

-e:n alone is found to occur in this environment and examples can be found in five texts (IN, KL, TK, CIL and MM) only.

irante:n I who passed over IN 328-4

First person plural

-am and -a:m are found to occur in this environment and no examples for -em, -e:m etc. are found.

me:vinam we who fitted KR 270-6

puṇarnata:m we who joined NR 349-4

Second person singular

koṭutto:y you who gave PR 2-16

Second person plural

Examples can be found only in 4 texts (NR, KL, CIL and MM) -i:r is found to be more predominant though -ir is more common in the finite verb construction in EOT.

puṇarnti:r you who joined NR 224-4

Third person

masculine singular

Of the three markers -an, -a:n and -o:n only -o:n is attested in PT where as in other some of the texts all the three are attested though -o:n out numbers the other two in the OT.

-o:n

paṭarnto:n he who went PT 61-10

-a:n

irinta:n he who ran PR 284-8

ilukkiya:n he who had lost PR 71-16

alitta:n he who destroyed KL 104-65

ni:ṭṭiya:n he who held KL 101-18

uṭi:yina:n he who caused KL 42-24

i:ṭṭa:n he who gave PAR XX-33

ni:ṅkiya:n he who gave up TK 341

(removed)

ceyta:n he who did CIL 17-24-1

-an

<i>puṇarntanan</i>	he who joined	NR 145-6
<i>viṭuttanan</i>	he who left	KL 82-22
<i>paṭṭinān</i>	he who caught	KL 79-12
<i>orṭinān</i>	he who stomped	CIL 29-18-2
<i>ikaṭntanan</i>	he who reproached	MM 5-88
<i>a:kkinān</i>	he who gave	MM 19-162

Feminine singular

Of the three markers *-a:!*, *-a:!* and *-o:!*, only *-a:!* is attested in PT, though we find all the three in most of the OT texts.

-a:!

<i>olkiṇa:!</i>	she who moved	PT 51-10
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-a:!

<i>toṭṭa:!</i>	she who put on	KL 84-23
<i>te:riya:!</i>	she who behaved	KL 100-9
<i>i:ṇṭa:!</i>	she who gave birth	PAR VIII-59
<i>te:ṭina:!</i>	she who searched	PAR XX-66
<i>i:ṇṭa:!</i>	she who gave birth	TK 656
<i>no:kkiṇa:!</i>	she who saw	TK 1082
<i>urṭa:!</i>	she who received	CIL 19-26
<i>ceṭṭa:!</i>	she who did	MM 23-58

-o:!

<i>i:ṇṭo:!</i>	she who delivered	PR 230-7
<i>amarnto:!</i>	she who desired	KR 56-5
<i>pirinticino:!</i>	she who parted	KR 336-6
<i>aṇaṇkiyo:!</i>	she who has afflicted	AK 322-15
<i>eṇṭo:!</i>	she who said	AK 297-19
<i>iranticino:!</i>	she who went	AK 306-15
<i>koṇṭo:!</i>	she who had	NR 284-3
<i>oṭinto:!</i>	she who departed	IN 326-5
<i>aṇaṇkiyo:!</i>	she who caused to suffer	IN 259-6
<i>koṇṭo:!</i>	she who desired	KL 100-13
<i>pirinto:!</i>	she who left	KL 148-21
<i>aṭṭito:!</i>	she who gave	CIL 15-185
<i>uṇarnto:!</i>	she who know	MM 30-2

Epicene plural

The markers denoting human plural are *-ar*, *-a:r* and *-o:r*. IN PT *-ar* and *-o:r* are found to occur where as in other OT texts *-a:r* is also found.

ar

<i>o:mpinār</i>	they who protected	PT 72-4
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-o:r

<i>a:ṇṭo:r</i>	they who ruled	PT 69-12
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-a:r

<i>ceṇṭa:r</i>	they who went	PR 337-4
<i>kaṇṭa:r</i>	they who saw	KR 75-1
<i>vi:ṭṭa:r</i>	they who fell in	
	love	KL 69-24
<i>ku:ṭiya:r</i>	they who joined	KL 72-15
<i>oṇṭiṇa:r</i>	they who united	KL 18-11
<i>iṭṭa:r</i>	they who gave	PAR XX-57
<i>naccina:r</i>	they who loved	PAR XX-85
<i>poṭṭa:r</i>	they who excused	TK 156
<i>pe:ṇiya:r</i>	they who were	
	desired	TK 1257
<i>varuntina:r</i>	they who suffered	TK 1131
<i>purinta:r</i>	they who wanted	TK 287
<i>uṇṭa:r</i>	they who ate	CIL 7-30-1
<i>ku:ṭina:r</i>	they who had united	CIL 4-V-1
<i>uṇainta:r</i>	they who stayed	MM 21-138

Neuter singular

-atu is the only marker denoting neuter singular in this environment and this is found to occur in PT as in other OT texts.

<i>i:ṭṭatu</i>	that which	
	someone gave	PT 61-12

Neuter Plural

-a is the neuter plural marker. There are two types of forms one with *-an-* (empty morph) and

another without *-an-* to denote neuter plural. In PT we find both the types.

<i>ma:n̄ana</i>	they who had been	PT	19-27
	glorious		
<i>ori:iyana</i>	they who had been		
	removed	PT	21-34
<i>poritta</i>	they which were		
	marked	PT	36-8

10.1.2.

after various non-past

First person singular

-en and *-e:n* are found to occur and no other marker is attested.

<i>iyaive:n</i>	I who will associate	AK	369-1
<i>eluve:n</i>	I who will rise	PR	150-8

First person plural

-am, *-a:m* and *-e:m* are attested in this environment.

<i>mi:lkuyam</i>	we who will return	NR	313-9
<i>e:ttuva:m</i>	we who will praise	KL	43-5
<i>varuve:m</i>	we who will come	CIL	24-1-2

Second person singular

-o:y and *-a:y* are attested. *-o:y* is far predominant in this and *-a:y* is attested only in KL.

<i>niraippo:y</i>	you who will fill	PR	398-14
<i>poyppa:y</i>	you who will deceive	KL	108-57

Second person plural

-tir alone is attested.

<i>varuvi:r</i>	you who will come	KR	118-4
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Third person

masculine singular

Masculine singular markers are not attested in this environment in PT. In EOT *-o:n* is found to

be more predominant though in LOT *-a:n* is in majority.

-an

<i>e:ntuva:n</i>	he who will hold	PR	301-16
<i>uruvu:n</i>	he who will have	CIL	9-53

-a:n

<i>eriva:n</i>	he who will fight	PR	296-4
<i>ariva:n</i>	he who will know	NR	136-6
<i>paṭuva:n</i>	he who will		
	experience	KL	40-18

<i>peyarppa:n</i>	he who will remove	KL	100-15
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<i>enpa:n</i>	he who will say	KL	40-29
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<i>ka:kkirpa:n</i>	he who will protect	KL	78-3
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<i>varuva:n</i>	he who will come	PAR IX-29	
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<i>va:lva:n</i>	he who will live	TK	41
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<i>maraiippa:n</i>	he who will protect	TK	1029
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<i>ceyva:n</i>	he who will do	CIL	7-40-1
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<i>enpa:n</i>	he who will be		
	called	CIL	1-33

-o:n

<i>unpo:n</i>	he who will eat	PR	347-1
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<i>uḷḷuvo:n</i>	he who will thought	PR	132-1
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<i>niraippo:n</i>	he who will fill	PR	171-5
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<i>ariyumo:n</i>	he who will know	PR	137-4
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<i>irappo:n</i>	he who will go		
	beyond	AK	66-9

<i>akalvo:n</i>	he who will dig	AK	282-4
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<i>no:kkuyo:n</i>	he who will look	PAR XII-50	
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<i>arivo:n</i>	he who will know	CIL	10-202
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<i>enpo:n</i>	he who will be		
	called	CIL	15-13

<i>uraippo:n</i>	he who will say	CIL	11-34
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<i>a:lvo:n</i>	he who will rule	MM	6-11
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<i>viyappo:n</i>	he who will		
	surprise	MM	5-7

<i>enpo:n</i>	he who will be		
	called	MM	3-29

Feminine singular

In PT, *-o:!* is the only marker denoting feminine singular in this environment, though we find other two markers (*-a:!*, *-a:r*) also in some of the other OT texts.

-o:!

peyarvo:! she who will shift PT 52-24

-a:!

va:!kuva:! she who will live AK 18-10

a:r:ruva:! she who will bear KL 28-10

olkuvana:! she who will
become weary AK 158-5

ninaivana:! she who will think KL 44-18

uraippana:! she who will say CIL 25-88

-a:r

o:ppuva:! she who will
drive away KR 72-5

a:puva:! she who will dance KL 39-1

po:va:! she who will go PAR XX-41

ara:r:ruva:! she who will lament CIL 19-25

enpa:! she who will say KL 40-29

enpa:! she who will
be called CIL P-17

enpa:! she who will has
the name MM 25-179

ulappa:! she who will suffer KL 130-17

na:appa:! she who will walk CIL 7-21-2

Epicene plural

Except *-a:r* the other two markers of Epicene plural, viz. *-ur* and *-o:r* are found to occur in PT in this environment whereas in other OT texts we also find *-a:r*.

-ar

u:ruvar they who will come PT 43-19

unmar those who will eat PT 24-18

-o:r

irappo:r those who will beg PT 52-11

ka:nuamo:r they who will see PT 83-5

-a:r

unma:r they who will eat PR 46-3

o:rma:r they who will know AK 171-9

enma:r they who will praise PAR XI-115

poruva:r they who will fight KR 260-4

vi:navuva:r they who will ask KL 144-6

vi:lyva:r they who will
desire PAR X-31

va:lyva:r they who will live TK 240

akalva:r they who will leave CIL 7-43-4

a:r:rukirpa:r they who will
enervate KL 108-18

ceykirpa:r they who will be
able to do TK 515

enpa:r they who will say KL 62-2

ulappa:r they who will suffer KL 80-12

nekilppa:r they who will loose PAR XVIII-37

palippa:r they who will speak
ill of TK 820

ka:appa:r they who will see CIL 1-53

ka:appa:r they who will
protect CIL 17-26-3

Neuter singular

As in other OT texts, in PT also the marker *-atu* alone is found to occur in this environment.

puraivatu that which will
resemble PT 17-1

Neuter plural

In PT as in other OT texts, the neuter plural marker *-a* alone is found to occur in this environment.

ve:n:puva they which will
desire PT 55-13

ilaṅkuvana those which will
shine PT 78-1

10.1.3.

after negative marker

a. *after negative marker -φ-*

First person singular

oute:n I who will
not unite KR 208-1

First person plural

olle:m we who are not
capable KL 76-10

Second person singular

aruḷa:y you who will not
be gracious AK 320-7

Third person

masculine singular

In this environment we do not find any instance in PT. But in most of the other OT texts we find Masculine singular marker *-a:n*,

imaiya:n he who will not close PR 290-4
aṭiya:n he who will not know KR 74-3
akala:n he who will not leave AK 50-5
paṭa:n he whom one will
not say KL 74-6
ceyya:n he who will not do TK 865
araṭṭa:n he who will not worry CIL 16-197
aṇca:n he who will not fear MM 22-187

Feminine singular

The feminine marker *-a:!* alone is attested in this environment in OT texts and the same is the situation in PT also.

olla:! she who will not agree PT 52-23

Epicene Plural

In PT only *-a:r* is found to occur in this environment where as in some of the other OT texts like AK and PP *-o:r* is also found to occur in this environment.

-a:r

aṭaṅka:r they who will not
be submissive PT 39-7

-o:r

paṭiyo:r they who will not
subside AK 22-5

paṭiyo:r they who did
not bow PP 10-423

b. *Negative -a:t-*

First person singular

aṭiyate:n I who did not
know NR 144-10

First person plural

aṭṭate:m we who will not
try IN 111-5

Second person singular

toḷa:ṭaṇai you who will not
bow PR 263-3

Second person plural

peṛa:ti:r you who had not
delivered PR 9-4

Third Person

In PT only epicene plural *-o:r* is found to occur in this environment where as in other OT texts masculine singular and feminine singular are also occurring.

*Masculine singular**-a:n*

utava:ta:n he who will not
help KL 149-6

va:la:ta:n he who will not
live TK 479

nalka:ta:n he who will not
show grace GIL 24-2-7

-o:n

ke:la:to:n he who will not
hear PR 257-13

to:la:to:n he who will not
get defeated AK 6
(Ka. Va:)

va:ra:to:n he who did not
come IN 119-4

ariya:to:n he who did not
know NR 94-9

va:ra:to:n he who will not
come KL 41-27

*Feminine singular**-a:!*

va:la:ta:! she who will not live KL 2-13

illa:ta:! she who will not
have TK 402

-o:!

ka:tiya:to:! she who had not
prevented KR 361-6

ve:nfa:to:! she who will not
desire AK 146-13

*Epicene plural**-a:r*

na:la:ta:r they who will not
associate PR 125-5

nalka:ta:r they who will not
give KL 148-14

ce:ra:ta:r they who will not
reach TK 10

-o:r

u:para:to:r they who will not
know PT 51-24

*c. Negative -a:**First person singular*

va:le:n I who will not talk KL 65-15

*Third person**Neuter plural*

In PT the neuter plural marker $-\phi$ is found to occur in this environment.

mappa: those which were
not washed PT 21-32

*10.1.4.**after appellative stems**First person singular*

-e:n, *-en* and *-an* are alone found in the whole of OT texts.

paricile:n I who seek gifts PR 209-11

paricile:n I who seek gifts PR 211-7

paricilan I who seek gifts PR 208-7

First person plural

-e:m and *-am*, are found to occur in this environment.

mu:ta:la:re:m we who are old PR 243-14

ariyam we who are rare KR 178-6

Second person singular

-ai, *-a*, *-i*, *-a:y* and *-o:y* are attested in this environment.

<i>puravalai</i>	you who will protect	PR	162-1
<i>ma:rupa</i>	you having the bossom	PR	3-16
<i>no:kki</i>	you of the look	AK	91-18
<i>to:la:y</i>	you who have shoulder	KL	20-15
<i>ma:ayo:y</i>	you who have the black colour	IN	446-2

Second person plural

-i:r, and *-ir* are attested.

<i>mu:vir</i>	you who are three	PR	109-2
<i>uṭaiyir</i>	you who have	AK	217-15

Third person

Masculine singular

In PT *-a:n* and *-o:n* are found to occur where as in other OT texts *-a:n* is also found to occur.

-a:n

<i>uṭṭaiyan</i>	he who had baboom	PT	56-5
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-o:n

<i>vallo:n</i>	he who was able	PT	63-14
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-a:n

<i>muṭaiṭṭa:n</i>	he who will interpolate	KR	67-3
<i>uṭṭa:n</i>	he who has	AK	356-14
<i>na:ṇcila:n</i>	he who has plough	KL	36-1
<i>uṭṭakatta:n</i>	he who is brave	PAR	X-66
<i>valla:n</i>	he who is able	TK	446
<i>neṇcatta:n</i>	he who has the chest	TK	169
<i>pukaṭṭa:n</i>	he who has the fame	GIL	1-36

Feminine singular

In PT *o:l* alone is found to occur in this environment whereas in other OT texts *-a:l* and *-a:l* are also found to occur.

-o:l

<i>puraiyo:l</i>	she who (had) greatness	PT	70-16
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-a:l

<i>uṭaiya:l</i>	she who had	PR	210-6
<i>kaṇṇa:l</i>	she of the eyes	KR	366-6
<i>anṇina:l</i>	she who has affection	AK	319-14
<i>katuppina:l</i>	she with locks of hair	IN	197-2
<i>vanappina:l</i>	she who has beauty	NR	301-6
<i>to:la:l</i>	she who has shoulder	KL	135-7
<i>aṭiya:l</i>	she who has pity	GIL	15-122
<i>perṭiya:l</i>	she who has the nature	MM	29-28

-a:l

<i>nalla:l</i>	she who (is) good	AK	195-6
<i>to:la:l</i>	she who has shoulder	NR	26-9
<i>to:la:l</i>	she who has shoulder	KL	138-19
<i>illa:l</i>	she of the house	TK	906
<i>anna:l</i>	she who is similar	CIL	1-24
<i>mutiya:l</i>	she who has the ancientity	MM	18-144

Epicene plural

In PT, as in other OT texts all the three markers, viz. *-ar*, *-a:r* and *-o:r* are found to occur in this environment.

<i>iṭaiyar</i>	they who had the ornaments	PT	46-1
<i>onna:r</i>	they who will not agree	PT	30-13
<i>villo:r</i>	they who had bow	PT	59-9

Neuter plural

As in other OT texts in PT also, the neuter plural marker *-a* is found to occur in this environment.

periya they which are big PT 15-37

10.2.

-av-

It has been said that though *-av-* occurs in all the OT texts it is less predominant than *φ*. In PT there are 2 occurrences, in KR 3 and NR 4 only. But in KL it is found to occur more (220) and this is also the case in TK (163). Mention also has to be made here that in MOT this is the only type that we find and in the course of the history of Tamil language it has replaced all the other types.

These participial nouns are made by adding various pronouns to the relative participles like *vanta*, *ceyta* etc.

vanta-avan → *vantavan*

ceyta-avan → *ceytavan*

vanta-avar → *vantavar*

ceyta-avar → *ceytavar*

though Arden (1969 (Rep) p. 216) thinks that pronominal endings are alone added to relative participles. It is true that though we find participial nouns like

kolpavar they who will have PR 5-6
iruppavar they who will
 remine AK 389-10

etc. we do not have corresponding non-past relative participle like.

**kolpa*

**iruppa*

etc. But mention has to be made that in languages like Kannada we find such participles *ceyya* 'which will do', *varuva* 'which will come' etc. It is very interesting to note that there are one or two occurrences of participial nouns like

añcumavan he who is afraid of TK 727

ennumavar they who say TK 653

where we find non past relative participles *añcum* 'who will be afraid of' and *ennum* 'who will say'

Participial nouns are also made of by making use of negative relative participle like *aruḷa:ta*, as in

aruḷa:tavar he who (Hon. sg.)
 will not grant KL 128-1

a:rra:tavar they who cannot
 withstand KL 88-4

Participial nouns are also made of by making use of appellative verbs. Examples can be found in all OT texts.

u!ḷavai they someone will
 have PR 328-3

nallavar they who were good PR 14-16

nallavai they which are good AK 82-8

Though Arden (1969 : 216) is of the opinion that participial nouns indicate the doer of the action of the verb we can find in participial nouns all kinds of relations that we find between the various participles and the verbs, while

vantavan he who came PR 217-8

tiṇṇavar they who ate AK 54-15

ceṇṇavar they who went IN 474-4

etc. indicate the doer of the action of the verbs

ke:ḷḷavai they which someone
 asked for AK 216-9

virippavai they which someone
 will spread AK 108-13

tuzantava! she whom
 someone left KL 19-8

tarappa!ḷava! she to whom
 someone gave KL 102-12

vi:ḷpava! she whom
 someone will like TK 1111

etc. indicate the patient or object relation and dative relation with the verb. Similarly we can have several other relations also. However, the majority of the participial nouns show the subject predicate (verb) relation and this relation far outnumbers other relations.

Unlike $-\phi-$, $-av-$ is always found to occur with third person only. In PT this is found to occur with neuter plural alone though in other OT texts it occurs with Masculine, Feminine, Epicene and Neuter also.

IN PT $-av-$ occurs after

1. past marker $-nt-$
2. appellative stem-only with $-ai$

though in other texts it occurs after

3. various non past markers
- and 4. $-a:t-$ a negative marker

10.2.1.

after past

Neuter plural

viḷaintavai they which ripened PT 62-14

Masculine singular

vantavan he who came PR 217-8
aḷittavan he who favoured KL 146-4
naḷḷavan he who got friendship PAR IV-17
ḷantavan he who lost TK 788
peḷḷavan he who had obtained CIL 30-122
i:ḷavan he who gave MM 24-19

Feminine singular

vantavaḷ she who came PR 344-9
i:ṇravaḷ she who gave birth KL 29-2
nṇṇravaḷ she who stood PAR XII-67
urṇravaḷ she who reached MM P-85

Epicene plural

uṇṇṇavar they who were offended PR 97-2
a:ṇṇṇavar they who drank NR 156-8
tuṇṇṇavar they who parted AK 298-20
alaṇṇṇavar they who suffered KL 133-6
aṇṇṇṇavar they who wore PAR XX-22
iraṇṇṇavar they who begged TK 224
iṇṇṇṇavar they who went beyond CIL 30-139
piṇṇṇṇavar they who were born MM 16-86

10.2.2.

after appellative stems

Neuter Plural

annayai they which were similar PT 62-14

Masculine singular

viṇṇṇavan he of the victory KR 359-5
muḷṇṇavan he of the drum AK 352-6
ka:ṇṇavan he of the jungle IN 283-1
illavan he who has nothing KL 144-58
viṇṇṇavan he who is in the sky CIL 10-189

Feminine singular

inaiyavaḷ she of this nature KL 7-18
illavaḷ she who heads the house TK 53
iḷaiyavaḷ she who is young CIL 7-16-4

Epicene plural

nallavar they who were good PR 14-16
illavar they of the house AK 34-16
nallavar they who are beautiful KL 32-10
iyaḷavar they who resemble peacock PAR IX-56
nilavar inhabitants of the land PP 6-123
illavar they who do not have TK 917
alla:tavar they of others TK 1077

<i>iḷaiyavar</i>	they who guard	CIL 23-101
<i>naḷṭavar</i>	they who are in	
	the country	MM 18-103
<i>maṭṭaiyavarkaḷ</i>	they who adhere	
	to married life	TK 263

10.2.3.

various non past markers

In this connection mention has to be made that *-p-*, and *-pp-* alone occur as non-past markers though there are one or two instances with *-m-*. In the weak verbs in the finite verb construction we find *-v-* as the non-past marker. But in participial nouns *-v-* is changed to *-p-* due to dissimilation.

Masculine singular

<i>aḷpavan</i>	he who will sink	KL 34-24
<i>vaḷpavan</i>	he who will live	TK 47
<i>aṇcumavan</i>	he who will fear	TK 727
<i>aḷpavan</i>	he who will rule	MM 24-54

Feminine singular

<i>nakupavaḷ</i>	she who will smile	KL 71-6
<i>tunippavaḷ</i>	she who will sulk	PAR XXI
		-22
<i>viḷpavaḷ</i>	she whom someone	
	likes	TK 1111

Epicene plural

<i>kolpavar</i>	they who will have	PR 5-6
<i>vaḷpavar</i>	they who will live	NR 217-1
<i>aṇipavar</i>	they who will wear	KL 9-15
<i>kaṇpavar</i>	they who will see	PAR XII-33
<i>aṇcupavar</i>	they who will fear	TK 464
<i>aḷpavar</i>	they who will rule	MM 23-104

Neuter plural

<i>uṭṭupavai</i>	they which someone	
	will wear	PR 189-5

<i>virippavai</i>	those which someone	
	will spread	AK 108-13
<i>kolpavai</i>	they which will have	KL 119-7
<i>irappavai</i>	they which someone	
	will desire	PAR V-78
<i>karpavai</i>	they which someone	
	will learn	TK 391
<i>eṭṭupavai</i>	they which (we)	
	will appropriate	CIL 27-21
<i>uraippavai</i>	they which someone	
	will say	MM 30-142

10.2.4.

after negative marker -aḷ-

<i>aḷuntaḷtavan</i>	he who not suffered	KL 146-25
<i>taḷaraḷtavar</i>	they who will not	
	exhaust	KL 34-13
<i>naccappaḷaḷtavan</i>	he who was not liked	TK 1004
<i>amaiyaḷtavar</i>	they who will not	
	unite	TK 825
<i>kaṇṇoḷaḷtavar</i>	they who will not	
	have mercy	TK 576

11.0.

Conjugated Nouns

As mentioned earlier, there are several occurrences of nouns like *vatiyunan* 'he who stays' (PP 5-80) *paḷṭunar* 'he who sings' (PR 238-7) in all OT texts. In PR alone there are seventy four occurrences and in AK we find the largest number viz. seventy nine. In NR there are only fourteen, in IN only ten and in TK only three. Unlike participial nouns these nouns do not show any contrast in tenses and they always denote only one tense viz. non-past, marked by *-n-*. Therefore they are separated from the participial nouns of the type *vantaḷn* 'he who came', *varuvaḷn* 'he who will come' and *vantavan* 'he who came' and *varupavan* 'he who will come'.

Conjugated nouns are always used to denote habituality and this very well accounts for the

absence of tense contrast in Tamil. This is also confirmed by the facts that epicene plural forms are found to be more common than other forms and in this connection mention has to be made that generally epicene plurals are made use of to denote habituality though use of other forms like those of masculine and feminine are not uncommon.

It has already been said *-n-* is a non-past marker and it is also used as a non-past marker in Tuḷu, Gonḍi, Konḍa, Pengo, Kui, Kolami, Kuruk and Malto (P. S. Subrahmanyam. 1971).

It has also been noted by the commentator of Puram that *-n-* denotes non-past. He says that *-n-* in *aṭunai* and *viṭunai* is a future tense sign (Puram 36). But it is found that in appellative verbs like *vallunai* 'you who are strong' (IN 231-1; 285-5) and *vallunam* 'we who are strong' (AK 299-3), where one cannot expect any tense marker. Though *-n-* denotes non-past it has lost its tense significance as there is no contrast and it has come to be used more as a marker of habituality than tense. This has hastened the process of analogy and due to this appellative forms are also found with *-n-*.

It is well known that other non-past forms are also used in OT to denote habituality and as they are more widely used in other cases they became very well established and in due course conjugated nouns have become obsolete. In MOT habituality is expressed solely by future tense markers as found in *avan nalla: ca:ppiṭuva:n* 'he eats well', *avan nalla: ca:ppiṭupavan* 'he is the one who eats well'.

Unlike participial nouns, conjugated nouns are not inflected to negative and negative is always expressed by other participial nouns as

<i>taḷara:tavar</i>	they who will not	
	exhaust	KL 34-13
<i>ke:ḷa:tavar</i>	they who will not	
	hear	TK 66

Like participial nouns, conjugated nouns also behave like verbs and it takes all kinds of adverbs.

Like participial nouns conjugated nouns are also found to occur in all persons except first person singular and second person plural. In PT they are found to occur only in third person and that too in the epicene plural and neuter plural.

Epicene plural

<i>ariyunar</i>	they who know	PT 26-4
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Neuter plural

<i>taṭukkuna</i>	checkers	PT 13-4
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First person singular

Nil

First person plural

There are only two occurrences in the whole of OT texts and they are found in PR and AK.

<i>ariyunam</i>	we who will know	PR 381-6
<i>vallunam</i>	we who have	
	strength	AK 299-3

Second person singular

<i>aṭunai</i>	you who will kill	PR 36-1
<i>viṭunai</i>	you who will leave	PR 36-1
<i>vallunai</i>	you who have	
	strength	IN 231-1,
		IN 285-5

Second person plural

Nil

Third person

Though this type of nouns are very rare in the first and second persons in third person we find a quite a good number of occurrences in OT and examples can be found in all OT texts. In PR

alone there are seventy occurrences and in PT thirty one. In IN and NR we find eight and fourteen respectively.

Masculine singular

<i>ariyunaṇ</i>	he who will know	PR 136-15
<i>piriyunaṇ</i>	he who will part	AK 392-19
<i>vatiyunaṇ</i>	he who stays	PP 5-80

Feminine singular

<i>puṭaiyuna!</i>	she who will	
	winnow	PR 326-4
<i>uṭaluna!</i>	she who will	
	disagree	AK 203-1
<i>ninaiyuna!</i>	she who will think	KL 126-14

12.0.

Conditional participle

In OT condition is expressed in two ways.

1. syntactically by making use of expressions like *eṇiṇ* 'if it is so', *eṇil* 'if it is so', *a:yiṇ* 'if it is so', etc. in certain periphrastic constructions.
2. morphologically by adding various suffixes like *-iṇ*, *-il*, *-a:l* and *-e:l* to various stems.

-iṇ and *-il* are added to the verbal stems as in *ka:ṇiṇ* 'if sees', *ka:ṇil* 'if sees' and it has to be noted here that both of them are in free variation. *-a:l* is added to the stem with past markers as in *kaṇṭa:l* 'if sees' and *-e:l* is added to the finite verbs as in *uṇṭe:l* 'if it is'.

TOL (713) lists *ceyiṇ* pattern with other verbal participles and he does not mention whether this is a conditional participle or not. From the way he has listed all the participles together, it seems that he does not intend to do so. His main purpose was just to list all the participles which are in construction with the verbs. But commentators like Cen. (228) consider this as conditional participles and they give examples like

maḷai peyyir kuḷaniraiyum.

'if it rains the tank will be full'

Cen. (228) is of the opinion that this pattern of verbal participle denotes only the future tense. This is also the stand taken by Nac. (230) and Dei. (222).

The commentators like Nac. (Col. 230) had given *-um*, *-a:l*, *-e:l* and *-e:ṇ* as conditional markers of which *-um* seems to be highly doubtful.

In PT we find only *-iṇ*. There are 41 occurrences (including *a:yiṇ* type) and as mentioned earlier it occurs after various stems. In the case of strong verbs *-pp-* alone is found to be added in PT and no *-kk-* is found in this environment.

12.1.

-iṇ

Of all the markers *-iṇ* is found to be more predominant and it is found to occur in all the OT texts including PT. In PT, there are 41 occurrences of this type.

<i>ariyiṇ</i>	if someone knows	PT 24-16
<i>ninaippiṇ</i>	if someone thinks	PT 17-1

In the case of strong verbs, in OT *-pp-* is generally added to the verbal roots before *-iṇ* and also *-il*. However, there are few occurrences PR (2), IN (2), CIL (1) where we find *-kk-*.

<i>kiṭakkṇ</i>	if it remains	PR 332-4
<i>karakkṇ</i>	if it is hidden	PR 1-8
<i>kaḷikkṇ</i>	if some one spends	IN 415-3
<i>ke:ṭkiṇ</i>	if some one hears	IN 81-5
<i>maṭikkṇ</i>	if someone retires	CIL 28-160

12.2.

-il

As mentioned earlier *-il* is also found to be made use of in a few cases AK (5), NR (1), KL (4), PAR (1), TK (1), CIL (8), MM (21) as a conditional marker and it behaves exactly like *-iṇ* and both of them are found to be in free variation.

<i>truppil</i>	if remained	AK 280-10
<i>a:kil</i>	if it is so	NR 350-9
<i>enñil</i>	if someone counts	KL 95-12
<i>kanñiñil</i>	if something grows intense	PAR VI-98
<i>upil</i>	if someone eats	TK 922
<i>eytil</i>	if someone attains	CIL 25-101
<i>ku:ñil</i>	if someone says	MM 29-189
<i>ka:ñil</i>	if someone shows	MM 29-444
<i>tantaruñil</i>	if someone gives	MM 6-154 ¹

Note that in PAR *-il* is used after the auxiliary *iñu*. In MM also the auxiliary *aruñ* is attested.

12.3.

-a:l

-a:l is also found to occur in 7 of the OT texts and totally there are 40 occurrences. In this connection it has to be noted that *-a:l* always occurs after various past tense markers and this is not the case with *-iñ-*, and *-il*.

<i>kanñal</i>	if someone sees	PR 390-25
<i>enñal</i>	if it is so	IN 248-3
<i>elunta:l</i>	if someone proceeds	KL 118-3
<i>mañutta:l</i>	if someone joins	PAR XX-42
<i>kanñal</i>	if someone sees	TK 1246
<i>uraitta:l</i>	if someone says	CIL 11-122
<i>po:ñal</i>	if someone goes	MM 6-158

It is found to occur in PR (1), IN (1), KL (2), PAR (2), TK (15), CIL (13), and MM (6).

12.4.

-e:l

-e:l is also another marker which denotes condition and it is found to occur in KL (11),

TK (13), CIL (7) and MM (3) and it is generally added to various finite verbs. This might have sprung from *enñ*.

<i>viñuva:ye:l</i>	if you leave	KL 93-33
<i>ceyva:ne:l</i>	if he does	TK 655
<i>varume:l</i>	if it comes	CIL 17-19-2
<i>enñiye:l</i>	if you ask	MM 3-73 ²

Expressions with *-ka:l*, *-kañai* (*vantakka:l* 'if someone comes) etc. are considered by many (L.V. Ramaswamy Aiyer 1938 : 247-281) as conditional expressions. It is true that they also denote conditional but in the OT texts under analysis, these forms do not generally denote condition. However, there is a solitary instance in AK where it denotes negative conditional.

<i>varutta:kka:l</i>	if someone does not make suffer	AK 74-17
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13.0.

Tense

It is now well known that tense and time are different. While the former is a grammatical category which plays a very prominent role in syntax the latter has something to do with semantics though it is generally referred to as adverbs of time. The difference has been felt by many grammarians and now they are very clearly distinguished. It is true that they are related in the sense that the selection of tense is very often dictated by adverbs of time.

Adverbs of time can be of several kinds. They may be single words, compound words or phrases or clauses like

<i>ne:ñu</i>	yesterday
<i>iññu</i>	today

1 See also AK 149-2; 160-9; 230-9; 352-11, KL 140-13; 14; 22, CIL 5-115; 7-49-3; 16-152; 16-200; 21-30; 26-15; 21-27 MM 14-94; 29-344; 29-369 etc.

2 See also KL 3-10; 38-13; 38-17; 38-21; 60-21; 91-18; 142-19; 144-28; 144-43; 147-50. TK 18-2; 308-1; 368-1; 556-1; 573-1; 575-1; 926-1; 1014-1; 1075-1; 1118-1; 1144-2; 1151-1 CIL 7-9-4; 7-10-4; 14-57; 19-13; 17-202; 17-21-2

MM 22-24; 22-26

<i>na:lai</i>	tomorrow
<i>veḷḷikkilamai</i>	Friday
<i>po:na va:ram</i>	last week
<i>po:na varuṭam</i>	last year
<i>eppoluta:vatu</i>	sometime
<i>aṭikkāṭi</i>	often
<i>na:n vantapiṇ</i>	after I came
<i>naṇ varuvut tku mun</i>	before I come

etc.

Another important factor is that only certain kinds of adverbs of time alone are crucial to the selection of proper tense. Adverbs of time like

<i>ne:rtu</i>	yesterday
<i>na:lai</i>	tomorrow

etc. dictate the selection. This is due to the fact that they inherently refer to the time of utterance (To) of the speaker and the time (T₁) indicated by the word. Unless this reference is made either lexically or by presupposition it may not be possible to select proper tense. The selection of tense is made generally on the basis of the time of the action (T₁) referred to in the sentence and the time of utterance (To). If T₁ is past, past tense is used and if it is future, future is used.

Mention also has to be made that tense is language particular whereas time is universal. One language may have two tenses and another may have more. There may be more than one past (recent past, remote past etc.) in one language and in another just one. Further, in the course of the history of the language tense system may change. It is well known that in OT there are only two well developed tenses viz. past and non-past whereas in MOT there are three tenses past, present and future, not to speak of the various aspects.

In OT tense is found to occur in

1. Finite Verbs

<i>irunte:n</i>	seated-I	PR 399-18
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<i>uraippe:n</i>	will say-I	PT 73-17
<i>a:kinṛatu</i>	becomes-it	AK 96-18

2. Participial Nouns

<i>celva:y</i>	you who will go	KL 95 2
<i>vantavan</i>	he who came	PR 217-8
<i>a:ḷkinṛo:r</i>	they who are ruling	MM 26-18

3. Verbal Participles

<i>vantu</i>	having come	PR 10-5
<i>a:ṭi</i>	having danced	KR 8-5
<i>poz:y</i>	having gone	KL 148-23
<i>ka:ṇu:</i>	having seen	AK 279-2
<i>ceypu</i>	having done	NR 1-9

4. Relative participles

<i>aṇaitta</i>	which tied	PT 33-2
<i>peyarum</i>	who will return	PT 30-20
<i>ce:ṛkinṛa</i>	who joins	PAR XXII-35

5. Conjugated Nouns

<i>ariyunar</i>	they who know	PT 26-4
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6. Imperatives

<i>cella:y</i>	you go!	PT 40-21
<i>varuti</i>	you come!	KL 108-54

7. Verbal Nouns

<i>i:vatu</i>	the act of giving	PR 316-8
<i>uṇarṇṭamai</i>	the act of thinking	PR 394-14

8. Conditional participles

<i>kaṇṭa:l</i>	if someone sees	PR 390-25
<i>eṇṭa:l</i>	if it is so	IN 248-3

9. Certain Negative expressions

<i>pa:ṭaṇma:r</i>	will not sing-they	PR 375-21
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It is well known that tense signs are made use of not only to denote absolute tense as found in

<i>avan ne:rtu vanta:n</i>	he came yesterday
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avan na:lai varuva:n

he will come tomorrow

but *relative tense* as well. Sentences like

avan na:lai vantu ca:ppi:va:n

he will come and eat tomorrow

show that the action of coming takes place before that of eating (*-nt-* in *vantu* denotes past). Though coming takes place the next day of the utterance of the sentence *vantu* has *-nt-* because of coming takes place before eating.

The present author has shown (1975 : 397-402) that in Tamil tense signs are made use of to denote several other things like habituality, universal truth certainty etc. Sentences like

na:n na:lai po:ki:re:n

I am going tomorrow

show certainty. Though *-ki-* is a present tense marker it is used with *na:lai* 'tomorrow' and it does not show present tense but certainty. This is also the case with English and many other natural languages. Sentences like

Mary comes tomorrow

show this phenomenon.

Similarly past tense is also used to indicate varieties of things. It is true, as the name itself suggests it indicates something that took place in the past as in

avan ne:iru vanta:n

he came yesterday

where we find absolute past. But it is also used as already noted, to denote relative past as in

avan na:lai vantu uppa:n

he will come tomorrow and eat

Note that in English translation we made use of future (will come) whereas in Tamil past participle *vantu* 'having come' is used.

Past is also used to indicate several other things like 'hastiness' 'surety' etc. While someone is eating, in order to indicate hastiness, he can say

nan ca:ppi:ta:ccu: ca:ppi:ta:ccu

I have eaten; eaten

where he uses past. This is the case in sentences like

ni: anke: po:na:l niccayam cettaiy

If you go there you are definitely dead

Similar examples can be multiplied to any number and it is not my intention to go into the details of this question. What I like to show is that tense signs do not show tense alone; but several other things as well.

It has been mentioned that Tamil past tense signs, not only show absolute past but relative past as well. Examples of past participles have been given. This is found not only in past participle but in one or two other categories as well. Tamil 'conditional' is such one and we find past tense markers in words like

<i>vanta:l</i>	if (someone) comes
<i>ceyta:l</i>	if (someone) does

etc. Here tense signs do not show absolute past but rather relative past. Another possible interpretation might be that the past signs do not show semantically any thing at all and they simply fill the slot. Note that condition can be expressed by making use of words like

<i>varin</i>	if (someone) comes
<i>ceyyin</i>	if (someone) does
<i>varil</i>	if (someone) comes
<i>ceyyil</i>	if (someone) does

where no tense marker is found.

This can be found in periphrastic constructions like

avan na:lai vanta:n enin/enil/a:na:l
if he comes tomorrow

where we find *vanta:n* 'came-he'.

Another important factor is that tense signs do not really (atleast in certain constructions) show any tense notion at all. For example

<i>paḷutta paḷam</i>	ripe fruit
<i>kuḷḷṛnta taṇṇi:r</i>	cold water
<i>veḷutta paṭyan</i>	white boy

etc. show this phenomenon. It is true that in these constructions we find past tense markers *-tt-* and *-nt-* and yet they do not show any past tense at all. As mentioned earlier in a separate paper 'Adjectives in Tamil with special reference to Patirrupattu' (Agesthalingom, 1976 : 23-47) we cannot have

<i>paḷukkira paḷam</i>
<i>paḷukkum paḷam</i>

etc.

This is also true in the case of verbal participle expressions like

<i>o:ḷi vanta:n</i>	he came running
<i>nimirntu niṇṛa:n</i>	he stood erect
<i>aṭittup pe:cina:n</i>	he spoke effectively

etc. Though we find *-i-*, *-nt-* and *-tt-* all past markers, they do not show past tense and the participles are used just as adverbs.

The foregoing discussion shows the complexity of time and tense signs.

It is very gratifying to note that TOL deals with tense in many cutrams (Col. 683, 684, 685, 724, 725, 726, 727, 730, 732 and 733). Yet it does not say anything about tense markers. This might be due to the fact that atleast in certain conditions (it speaks of such things in many cutrams) one tense sign is used for another tense and it might have been thought that as that is the case there is no point in assigning one tense to particular signs.

According to TOL (Col. 684, 685) there are three tenses viz. past, present and future (*iṭappu*, *nikalvu* and *eirvu*). It is very clear from various cutrams that TOL was very definite about these three tenses and in many of the cutrams they are clearly distinguished.

13.1.

Past tense

In OT there are four past tense markers viz. *-t-*, (*-k-*, *-ḷ-*, *-r-* and *-tt-*) *-iṇ-*, (*-i-*, *-y-*, *-ṇ-*) *-nt-* and *-ḥ-*. Out of which *-t-*, *-iṇ-* and *-nt-* can be considered as very important, as all verbs in Tamil can be conjugated to past tense by making use of them. All the others are only variants of these markers and they can be replaced by any one of the three. For example *-ḥ-* in

<i>a:ḷu:u</i>	having danced
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can be replaced by *-i-* as found in

<i>a:ḷi</i>	having danced
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Similarly *-ḥ-* in

<i>ceyyu:</i>	having done
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by *-t-* as found in

<i>ceytu</i>	having done
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Moreover *-ḥ-* is found to occur only in very limited environments. Though it is not uncommon in OT it is very rare in MOT. It is almost out of use now.

As mentioned earlier TOL does not list the past marker any where in the grammar and this has led to lot of speculations and it is not our intention to go into such issues in detail.

13.1.1.

-t-

-t- is found to occur after

1. all verbs ending in *-X* except those disyllabic stems preceded by a (:)¹
2. verbs of the pattern # *C V !/ru*
3. verbs of the pattern # (C)/k/!/*r*
4. verbs of the pattern # (C) *Vy*
5. verbs ending in nasals viz. *n* and *ṇ*

piṭṭa:!
piṭṭo:!

caught-she
she who held

PAR VII-56
CIL 23-8

-i:x

ni:ttu

having abandoned NR 237-4

ni:tta:ṇ

left-he KR 143-12

ni:tta:ṇ

he who left KL 131-14

-ux

viṭuttu

having left AK 366-10

viṭutte:ṇ

took leave (of you)-I PR 198-11

viṭutto:ṇ

he who relieved PR 46-2

-u:x

mu:ttu

having become old NR 315-3

mu:tta

which was old PT 22-10

-ai:x

vai:ttu

having placed PT 44-18

vai:tta

who had done PT 37-11

vai:tte:ṇ

put-I MM 7-22

vai:tto:r

they who had in
mind MM 3-70

-ox

ottu

having joined KL 11-21

ottanam

united-we AK 26-20

otta:r

they who resembled PAR XVII-34

-o:x

ko ttu

having arranged AK 169-4

ko:tta

which was hanged NR 58-2

-yx

ka:yttu

having borne fruit PR 120-8

ka:ytta

which had borne
fruit PT 40-5

13.1.1.1.

-t- is found to occur after all verbs ending in *-x* except those disyllabic stems preceded by *-a(:)*.

There are quite a number of verbs in Tamil taking *-tt-* as past tense marker and *-pp-* as non-past marker. Traditionally they are called strong verbs. *x* is set up here as a morphophoneme which nullifies the contrast between the verb stems which take *-tt-* and *-t-* as past tense markers. In Tamil there are stems having same endings, say *vai* 'place', *vai* 'scold' but taking *-tt-* and *-t-* respectively as past markers. In order to nullify this contrast an *x* is set up as a morphophoneme. The behaviour of these verbs warrant such distinction and it is supported by forms like *vaikka* 'to place' and *vaiya* 'to scold' etc. The present analysis follows that of Lisker (1951).

On the basis of the preceding phonemes they are listed below.

x- as part of the stem

-a:x

ya:ttu having tied AK 368-17
ya:tta which someone tied PT 53-4

-ix

iṭittu having pestled PT 41-21
iṭitta which pounded KR 238-1

1 There are two exceptions for this generalization

irux which must take *-t-*, takes *-nt-* as past marker.

niḷax which is expected to take *-nt-*, takes *-t-* as past marker.

-rx

<i>pa:rttu</i>	having seen	KL 4-3
<i>pa:rtta:!</i>	saw-she	PAR XII-62
<i>pa:rttaval</i>	she who saw	PAR XII-62

-lx

<i>e:tta</i>	which received	AK 26-24
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-lx

<i>mukilttu</i>	having budded	AK 242-16
<i>mukiltta</i>	which was displayed	CIL 1-59

-lx

<i>ke:ttu</i>	having heard	PT 74-1
<i>ke:ttana!</i>	heard-she	KL 107-11

x as transitive marker***avil-x-t > aviltt***

<i>avilttu</i>	having opened	CIL 14-140
<i>aviltta</i>	which had	
	blossomed	AK 132-10
<i>avilttan</i>	untied-he	CIL 16-116

utir-x-t > utirtt

<i>utirttu</i>	having removed	PT 74-10
<i>utirtta</i>	which (someone)	
	make to wither	PT 71-4
<i>utirkkum</i>	which will shed	PR 29-16

kefu-x-t > kefutt

<i>kefuttu</i>	having destroyed	PT 15-7
<i>kefutta</i>	which was dropped	AK 45-13
<i>kefutta:!</i>	she who lost	KL 147-7

ca:y-x-t > caiytt

<i>ca:yttu</i>	having destroyed	PT 90-21
<i>ca:ytto:y</i>	destroyed-you	PAR IV-47

nanai-x-t > nanaitt

<i>nanaitta</i>	which appeared	AK 150-9
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piri-x-t > piritt

<i>pirittu</i>	having separated	KR 305-5
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Most of the so called middle verbs are also treated as *x* ending verbs and they behave exactly like strong verbs.

kalx-t > karr

<i>karrtu</i>	having learnt	PT 90-4
<i>karrta</i>	which one learned	KL 81-13
<i>karrta:n</i>	one who learned	TK 949
<i>karro:r</i>	they who learned	PP 1-133

ke:lx-t > ke:tt

<i>ke:ttu</i>	having heard	PT 74-11
<i>ke:tta</i>	who heard	PR 50-16
<i>ke:tta:r</i>	they who heard	KL 119-6
<i>ke:tto:r</i>	they who heard	NR 216-10

to:lx-t > to:rr

<i>to:rru</i>	having defeated	PAR XVIII-34
<i>to:rra:!</i>	she who was	
	defeated	KL 135-6
<i>to:rrto:n</i>	he who failed	PR 125-16

mi:lx-t > mi:tt

<i>mi:ttu</i>	having got back	AK 286-9
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vilx-t > viltt

<i>vilttu</i>	having sold	TK 220
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Middle verbs like *tin*, *en* etc. are treated separately (See under 13.1.1.6). Though they also take *-t-* as past marker they do not undergo assimilation (*n* > *r*) as we find in *kal* 'learn' *vil* 'sell' etc.

13.1.1.2.

Verbs of the pattern # (C) *Vl/ru* also take *-t-* as past marker. There are a few verbs like *ulu*

'plough' *poru* 'fight' etc. in OT which take *-t-* as past tense marker and *-v-* as non-past.

<i>alutu</i>	having wept	IN 69-4
<i>aluta</i>	which was shed	PR 356-5
<i>aluta!</i>	cried-she	CIL 9-23
<i>ulutu</i>	having removed	AK 9-6
<i>uluta</i>	which ploughed	PT 75-11
<i>uluto:y</i>	dug-you	PAR III-24
<i>uluta:y</i>	ploughed-you	KL 64-11
<i>tolutu</i>	having worshipped	PT 89-10
<i>toluta</i>	one which wor-	
	shipped	TK 828
<i>tolutagan</i>	worshipped-he	CIL 16-39
<i>porutu</i>	having fought	PT 55-19
<i>poruta</i>	one who fought	PT 13-2

13.1.1.3.

-t- is also found to occur after the verbs of the pattern (C) *Vk/i/r*. There are a few verbs in OT with this pattern and they take *-t-* in the past and *-v-* in the non-past.

puk-t > *pukk*

<i>pukku</i>	having entered	PT 43-26
<i>pukka</i>	which was entered	AK 222-11
<i>pukka:n</i>	entered-he	KL 82-24
<i>pukko:n</i>	he who entered	PR 39-3

at-t > *at!*

<i>at!tu</i>	having destroyed	PT 20-21
<i>at!ta</i>	who afflicted	PT 11-2
<i>at!ta:n</i>	destroyed-he	PAR XV-45
<i>at!to:n</i>	he who won	MM 24-45

vit-t > *vi!t*

<i>vi!tu</i>	having given	KR 268-4
<i>vi!ta</i>	which loosened	PP 6-654

pet-t > *perr*

<i>perru</i>	having got	PT 40-11
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<i>per!ta</i>	who had got	PT 19-11
<i>per!ta:y</i>	obtained-you	PAR VI-74
<i>per!to:n</i>	he who got	AK 86-14

In this connection it has to be mentioned that in OT *puk* is also found to take *-nt-* as past as in *pukuntu*. In PR, KL, CIL and MM we find both *-t-* and *-nt-* as past markers.

<i>pukkanan</i>	entered-he	PR 258-6
<i>pukka:r</i>	entered-they	KL 101-49
<i>pukkanar</i>	entered-they	CIL 10-248
		MM 25-206
<i>pukunta</i>	which entered	PR 30-12
		KL 66-2
		MM 3-94
<i>pukuntu</i>	having entered	CIL 3-128

13.1.1.4.

-t- is also found to occur with the verbs of the type *akappa!tu* and *kappuru*.

akappa!t > *akappa!ta*
which fell PR 17-15

kappur-t > *kappur!ra*
which one met with KL 105-48

13.1.1.5.

-t- is also found to occur after the verbs of the pattern # (C) *Vy*. There are a few verbs in OT with this pattern and they take *-t-* in the past and *-v-* in the non-past.

ey-t > *eyt*
eytu having discharged
(arrows) PAR V-26

cey-t > *ceyt*
ceytu having done PT 49-13
ceyta which had done PT 11-14
ceytanai did-you AK 104-14
ceyta:n he who did KL 40-6

<i>ceyto:n</i>	he who had done	CIL 25-58	<i>tinra</i>	which ate	AK 89-10
<i>pey-t > peyt</i>			<i>tinavar</i>	they who ate	AK 55-14
<i>peytu</i>	having rained	PT 55-14	etc.		
<i>peyta</i>	which mixed	PT 12-17	13.1.2.		
<i>peyta:!</i>	wore-she	TK 1115	-in-		
<i>peyto:r</i>	placed-they	PAR V-41			
13.1.1.6					
-t- is also found to occur with the verbs ending in nasals viz. -n and -r.					
<i>i:n-t > i:nr</i>					
<i>i:nru</i>	having given birth	PR 312-1	-kk <i>kalakkinan</i>	made confusion-he	AK 66-70
<i>i:nra</i>	which gave birth	PR 86-5	-nk <i>kalankina:!</i>	grieved-she	TK 1290
<i>i:nra:!</i>	she who gave birth	PAR VIII-58	-cc <i>o:ccinan</i>	raised-he	PR 308-9
<i>i:nro:!</i>	she who delivered	PR 230-7	-nc <i>añcinan</i>	feared-he	KR 302-6
<i>un-t > unr</i>			-jk <i>u:kirtu</i>	feared-it	KL 103-45
<i>unru</i>	having eaten	PT 15-25	-!t <i>ka:ttinan</i>	showed-he	CIL 16-165
<i>unra</i>	which ate	PT 40-19	-nt <i>ve:ntinam</i>	desired-we	AK 26-15
<i>unra:n</i>	he who enjoyed	KL 64-24	-nn <i>enñinan</i>	one who thought	MM 22-42
<i>unro:r</i>	they who ate	PR 360-21	-it <i>muttina:!</i>	kissed-she	KL 82-17
<i>en-t > enr</i>			-nt <i>varuntinan</i>	suffered-he	NR 32-4
<i>enru</i>	having said	PT 53-3	-pp <i>ceppina:!</i>	said-she	MM 29-39
<i>enra</i>	which someone said	PT 14-1	-mp <i>arumpina:!</i>	sprouted-she	CIL 12-63
<i>enra:n</i>	said-he	KL 72-10	-mm <i>tummina:r</i>	sneezed-they	TK 1312
<i>enro:n</i>	said thus-he	PR 381-21	-yt <i>eytinan</i>	attained-they	PT 52-9
<i>ka:n-t > kanr</i>			-lk <i>olkina:!</i>	she who moved	PT 51-10
<i>kanru</i>	having seen	PT 15-15	-ll <i>collina:!</i>	said-she	MM 28-91
<i>kanra</i>	which was seen	AK 116-1	-vv <i>vavvinan</i>	took hold-he	KL 47-22
<i>kanra:n</i>	one who saw	TK 849	-!l <i>u:lina:!</i>	thought-she	NR 59-8
<i>kanravan</i>	he who saw	KL 136-9	-rr <i>parrinan</i>	he who caught	KL 79-12
etc.			-nr <i>to:nrina:!</i>	appeared-she	CIL 22-157
<i>tin-t > tinr</i>			-nn <i>tunñina:r</i>	attained-they	GIL 2-V-3
<i>tinru</i>	having eaten	AK 107-4	-k <i>e:kina:n</i>	one who went	TK 3
			-c <i>paracinan</i>	praised-they	CIL 3-124
			-t <i>a:tina:!</i>	bathed-she	MM 22-40
			-n <i>na:ninan</i>	became-he	KR 265-8
			-t <i>o:tinan</i>	said-he	MM 25-18

1 Eventhough the tense marker -in- can also occur after the cluster -lk- as in the verbs *mu:lku* it is not given here since it is not attested in any of the OT texts.

Any how the relative participle form *mu:lkiya* is attested with -i- where -i- is the past tense marker.

-m	keḷumina	filled with-they	PR	345-2
-r	etirina	opposed-they	KR	159-4
-l	a:liṇa	shouted-they	PP	5-89
-v	e:viṇaṇ	commanded-he	CIL	28-233
-l	keḷi:iyiṇar	they who united	AK	93-2
-l	poṭuḷina	crowded-they	AK	259-7
-r	e:riṇaṇ	mounted-he	CIL	26-60
-ṇ	kaviṇiya	which had been		
		beautified	AK	84-5

It is true that verbs like *aruḷ* 'give' *col* 'say' etc. do not actually end with *u*; but they are all taken as *u* ending words and this simplifies the description a great deal.

13.1.3.

-i-

It has been said that *-i-* can be taken as a variant of *-iṇ-*. *-i-* is found to occur with verbs of *-iṇ-* class and it is found in

1. all verbal participle constructions
2. relative participle constructions
3. participial noun constructions
4. neuter singular finite verb constructions.

13.1.3.1.

Verbal participle

It has been mentioned that *-iṇ-* occurs after certain verb stems (those ending in *-u*) and *-i* also occurs after all these stems in the verbal participle constructions without any exception. In addition, it also occurs after verbs of the pattern (1) # (C)VC *ai* and (2) # (C) *Vk/t/r*. It is true that in the case of verbs like *po:k*, *a:k* etc. we find participles like *po:y* and *a:y* where we have *-y-* as the past tense marker. But *po:ki* and *a:ki* can also be met in OT though with *-y* is more predominant.

a:ṭi	having danced	PT	45-12
ku:ṭi	having gathered	AK	86-12
o:ṭi	having run	KL	45-5

-i- is found to be predominant in verbal participle construction than in any other construction.

The commentators of TOL (Nac. 230, Cen. 228) give the impression that *-i* can be considered in par with *-u* of *ceytu* etc. and in our opinion it is better to consider *-i* as the past tense marker than the verbal participle marker. It is also found in other constructions like relative participle and participial noun.

13.1.3.2.

Relative Participle

Unlike in Modern Tamil, in OT *-i-* is more predominant than *-iṇ-* in the relative participle expressions. In OT there are only three occurrences (one in KR and two in MM) with *-iṇ-* as past marker in the relative participle constructions of *-iṇ-* verbs.

aṭaṅkiya	who controlled	PT	15-29
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As said there are only three occurrences of *-iṇ-* in OT.

nt:ṭina	which extended	KR	309-3
po:yina	which left	MM	24-43
		MM	24-70

13.1.3.3.

Participial noun

-i- is also found to have been used very often in various participial nouns. Though it is not found in the first person (both in singular and plural and in these *-iṇ-* is used) there are a few occurrences in the second person.

aṇṇikiyo:y	you who have		
	afflicted	AK	32-8
paṇṇiyo:y	you who did	KL	69-17

But there are quite a number of occurrences in the third person.

aṇṇikiyo:ṇ	he who caused		
	to suffer	IN	182-4

<i>iraiñciyo:n</i>	he who bowed	PR 285-14
<i>ni:ñkiya:n</i>	he who gave up	TK 341
<i>ni:ñiya:n</i>	he who held	KL 101-18
<i>ni:ñyo:n</i>	he who rubbed	KR 379-6
<i>a:kiya!</i>	she who became	KR 10-1
<i>añankiyo:!</i>	she who has afflicted	AK 322-15
<i>te:ñiya:!</i>	she who behaved	KL 100-9
<i>ku:ñiya:r</i>	they who joined	KL 72-15
<i>taññyo:r</i>	they who got	KR 177-7
<i>ni:ñyo:r</i>	they who rubbed	
	gently	AK 155-4
<i>pe:ñiya:r</i>	they who desired	TK 1257
<i>eññiyatu</i>	that which has	
	thought	CIL 16-155
<i>taññiyatu</i>	that which was	
	made friendly	TK 425
<i>ta:kkiyatu</i>	that which attacked	PAR VI-57
<i>eññiya</i>	those which	
	someone attained	KL 59-17
		CIL 14-153
<i>ve:ññiya</i>	they which were	
	desired	TK 265

A quick perusal of the participial noun forms show that *-i-* is very predominant with *-o:n*, *-o:!* and *-o:r* and very rarely *-iñ-* occurs with them. As mentioned earlier *-iñ-* is found to occur with *-añ*, *-a:n* etc. quite frequently. It is to be mentioned here that *-i-* is also found to occur with *-añ* when this tense marker is immediately followed by *-av-*

<i>uri:ina:n</i>	he who caused	KL 42-24
<i>orri:nan</i>	he who stamped	CIL 29-18-2
<i>pa:ri:nan</i>	he who got	KL 79-12
<i>tali:iyavan</i>	he who embraced	KL 103-35

13.1.3.4.

Finite verb

In OT there are a few occurrences in which *-i-* is found to occur as past marker in the finite verb constructions. This is found in neuter singular expressions. It is true that in neuter singular both *-iñ-* and *-i-* are found.

-iñ-

<i>a:kinru</i>	became-it	PAR VIII-10
<i>a:yirru</i>	changed-it	PAR VII-35
<i>curuñkinru</i>	faded-it	PR 397-4

-i-

But *-i-* shows up in finite verbs like

<i>e:ntiyatu</i>	rose-it	PP 1-107
<i>kappiyatu</i>	thought-it	PR 52-7
<i>ka:ññiyatu</i>	showed-it	CIL 13-85
<i>cuññiyatu</i>	rounded-it	PAR VII-29
<i>celuttiyatu</i>	directed-it	MM 4-70

It is to be noted that in all the works under analysis *-atu* is not found to occur with *-iñ-*. But *-i-* which can be taken as an alternant of *-iñ-* is very pervasive in this context.

-y-

-y- can also be taken as a variant of *-i-* (*-iñ-*) and this can be found both in relative participle and verbal participle construction. Participial nouns can also have this though it is not found in OT texts.

There are nineteen verbs where we find *-y-* used as a past tense marker. Constructions like *a:y* 'having become' *po:y* 'having gone' etc. are found in OT (See under verbal participle) and in all these cases *-y-* can be taken as past sign. It is also gratifying to note that commentators like Nac. (Nac. Col. 230) consider it as a past marker.

It is claimed (P. S. Sastry, 1934 : 187; Israel, 1973 : 213) in cutram 58. TOL speaks of this saying that *y* and *i* can interchange at the end of a word. In words like *po:y*, *ku:y* etc. *y* and *i* are not interchanged; but *-i* is dropped (*po:yi*) and there by *y* denotes the past (Chithiraputhiran, 1978 : 112). It is also to be noted that *y* also occurs in the relative participle constructions like *po:ya* 'that which went' where we find *y* in the

non-final position. This is also the case with participial nouns where also we can find *y* in the non-final position.

<i>a:y</i>	having become	PT 67-20
<i>e:ey</i>	having commented	PT 11-13
<i>ka:fa:ay</i>	having kindled	PT 30-33
<i>tu:uy</i>	having offered	PT 17-6
<i>a:ya</i>	which became	KL 11-1
<i>e:ya</i>	which commanded	PT 41-23
<i>po:ya</i>	which had gone	CIL 30-133
<i>a:yatu</i>	became-it	CIL 3-81
<i>po:yavan</i>	he who went	MM 24-2

In this connection it also has to be mentioned that verbs *ca:ay* and *pa:ay* also have verbal participle with *-y* though they do not belong to *-in-* class. This may be due to analogy.

<i>ca:ay</i>	having emaciated	IN 27-3
<i>pa:ay</i>	having spread	AK 43-7

-n-

-n- is found to occur in the finite verb, relative participle and participial noun. It has very restricted distribution and is found only with three verbs viz. *a:k*, *col* and *po:k*. As has been said this can be derived from *-in-*

Finite verb

<i>a:natu</i>	became-it	KL 147-3
<i>conna:y</i>	said-you	MM 16-112
<i>po:na:n</i>	parted-he	CIL 19-27

Relative participle

<i>a:na</i>	who became	MM 29-56
<i>conna</i>	who said	CIL 12-16-4
<i>po:na</i>	who went	PAR XXII-11

Participial noun

<i>connatu</i>	one who said	CIL 18-15
<i>po:natu</i>	one who went	MM 16-99

In this connection it has to be mentioned not only *-n-* but *-in-* also occurs with *a:k*, *col* and *po:k*

<i>a:yina:r</i>	became-they	PT 3-P
<i>a:yina</i>	became-they	PT 13-19
<i>a:kinzu</i>	became-it	PAR VII-35
		CIL 24-11

13.1.4.

-nt-

-nt- is found to occur with all the other verbs of the following types.

1. Disyllabic stems ending in *-x* preceded by *-a (:)*¹ and the verbs *irux* and *nilx*
2. Disyllabic stems ending in *-i*, *-u* and *-ay*.
3. Stems ending in *-y*, *-r*, *-l*, *-l* or *-l*.
4. *ta:/ta*, *no:/no*, *va:/va*, *ve:/ve*.

13.1.4.1.

Verbs ending in *-a (:)x* and the verbs *irux* and *nilx*.

anna:x-nt > anna:nt

<i>anna:ntu</i>	having been proud	PR 47-8
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cemma:x-nt > cemma:nt

<i>cemma:ntu</i>	having the superiority	PR 161-19
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na:tax-nt > na:tant

<i>na:tantu</i>	having walked	PT 20-10
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pirax-nt > pirant

<i>pirantu</i>	having started	PT 48-13
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irux-nt > irunt

<i>irunttu</i>	having remained	PT 19-11
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nilx-nt > ninr

<i>ninru</i>	having stood	PT 21-34
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1 The verb *nilax* is an exception to this generalization

13.1.4.2.

Verbs ending in -i, -u or -ai

-i

<i>aŋi-nt</i>	<i>aŋintu</i>	having worn	PT	15-22
<i>eri-nt</i>	<i>erintu</i>	having destroyed	PT	37-9
<i>oli-nt</i>	<i>olinta</i>	which fell	PT	86-10
<i>kaŋi-nt</i>	<i>kaŋintu</i>	having passed through	PT	41-15
<i>kuvl-nt</i>	<i>kuvintana</i>	stored-they	PAR XVIII-	47

-u

<i>eŋu-nt</i>	<i>eŋunta</i>	which started	PT	21-13
<i>vilu-nt</i>	<i>viluntana</i>	fell down-they	CIL	35-16

-ai

<i>aŋai-nt</i>	<i>aŋaintana</i>	reached-they	CIL	22-116
<i>uŋai-nt</i>	<i>uŋaintana</i>	fell broken-he	PR	278-4
<i>ninai-nt</i>	<i>ninaintaŋ</i>	remembered-she	CIL	19-73
<i>punai-nt</i>	<i>punaintu</i>	having worn	PT	37-8

13.1.4.3.

Verbs ending in -y, -r, -l, -ŋ or -ŋ

-y

<i>a:y-nt</i>	<i>a:ynta</i>	which was tired	PT	69-7
<i>uy-nt</i>	<i>uyntana</i>	escaped-they	NR	23-1
<i>ma:y-nt</i>	<i>ma:yntu</i>	having disappeared	PT	22-32

-r

<i>amar-nt</i>	<i>amarntu</i>	having desired	PT	23-14
<i>uŋar-nt</i>	<i>uŋarntu</i>	having known	PT	74-24
<i>etir-nt</i>	<i>etirntu</i>	having opposed	PT	59-11
<i>ca:r-nt</i>	<i>ca:rnta:r</i>	they who approached	KL	132-21
<i>te:r-nt</i>	<i>te:rntu</i>	having searched	IN	162-2
<i>nukar-nt</i>	<i>nukarnta</i>	where enjoyed	NR	139-8

-l

iyal-nt > *iyant*

iyantana started-they AK 259-1

cel-nt > *cent*

centana went-they NR 14-6

po:l-nt > *po:nz*

po:nzana resembled-they KL 82-14

vel-nt > *venz*

venzo:y won-you PT 63-15

-ŋ

a:l-nt *a:lnta* which was low PP 6-273

nikaŋ-nt *nikaŋntu* having happened PT 49-15

pukaŋ-nt *pukaŋntu* having praised PT 82-15

vi:l-nt *vi:lntana* fell down-she CIL 20-81

-ŋ

koŋ-nt > *koŋt*

koŋtana seized-she IN 176-1

ma:l-nt > *ma:nz*

ma:nzana they who had
been glorious PT 19-27

mi:l-nt > *mi:nz*

mi:nzu having returned MM 29-404

vekuŋ-nt > *vekuŋt*

vekuŋzu having enarged PT 14-10

13.1.4.4.

ta:/ta, no:/no, va:/va, ve:/ve

ta:-nt > *tant*

tantana gave-he NR 80-5

no:-nt > *nont*

nontu having suffered KL 33-16

va:-nt > *vant*

vantanen came-I PT 35-2

ve:-nt > *vent*

venta which burned IN 317-2

13.1.5.

-φ-

-φ- is found to occur after all verbs (verbs which take -t-, -iñ- and -nt-) but only in the verbal participle constructions. It has already been said that there are a few verbal participle constructions where we don't find any overt tense markers. Verbal participles of the pattern.

<i>ceyyu:</i>	having done
<i>ceyvu</i>	having done
<i>ceyya:</i>	having done

are found to occur in OT texts.

Unlike the other past tense markers -φ- is not dictated by the verb stems (as it occurs with all the three classes of verbs); but it is dictated by another grammatical category say verbal participle.

<i>a:ñu:u</i>	having danced	PT 86-4
<i>ka:ñu:u</i>	having seen	PT 30-20
<i>varu:u</i>	having come	MM 21-54

As noted earlier TOL lists the patterns of verbal participle in cutram 724. It is true that in this cutram he does not mention whether they denote any tense or not. But various commentators are of the opinion that they denote tense. It is true that they differ from each other in the fact whether they denote past or non-past and so on. But they all think these participles do denote tense and are not tenseless.

According to Cen. (TOL, Col. 228) *ceyyu:* pattern denotes the action already taken place before the action of the following verb. That is it denotes past (relative past). This is also the case with *ceytu* pattern in which we find -t- past marker. Dei (Tol. Col. 221) is of the opinion that *ceyyu:* denotes both past and present according to the context. But to Nac. (Tol. Col. 230)

it denotes only past. P. S. Sastri (1934 : 188) is of the opinion that it denotes "an action more or less simultaneous with that denoted by the verb which it qualifies".

In my opinion all the above views are true. As I mentioned earlier that verbal participles are used not only to denote the time of the action but other things as well.

o:ñi vanta:n 'he came running'

Here *o:ñi* is used as an adverb of manner semantically. But it is a past form with -i. This is the way that Tamil expresses things. Not only *ceyyu:*, but *ceytu* also behaves like this. Therefore there is no harm in positing -φ- as a past marker in *ceyyu:* pattern. In form it is past and it can denote either past or simultaneous action etc. according to the context. But in the majority of the cases it denotes past (relative past) as the *ceytu* pattern. It is also gratifying to note that TOL in Cu. 724 also indirectly says that it denotes past. In this cutram *iranta-ka:lām* means only absolute past.

This is the case with *ceyvu* type too. Though we find -pu in it, it is also found to be used in majority of the cases only in the past. It is true that it is also used to denote simultaneous action which has been noticed by Cen. (228). Nac. 230) and Dei. (221) think that it denotes not only past but other tenses as well. But one should not forget that almost all the verbal participles whether they have overt past markers -t-, -i- etc. or not behave alike. Like *ceyyu:* type this is also found in all verb stems (-iñ-, -t- and -nt- verbs). Examples like

<i>nañunkupu</i>	having trembled	CIL 17-4-1
<i>pañupu</i>	having thronged	AK 131-3

shows this phenomenon.

<i>ka:ñu:u</i>	having seen	PT 86-4
<i>ka:ña:</i>	having seen	KR 231-4

13.2.

Non-past

It has been mentioned that in OT there are only two tenses viz. past and non-past though in Middle Tamil and Modern Tamil we find three tenses past, present and future. This does not mean that there is no occurrence of present tense expressions in OT; but rather the contrast between the future and the present has not been fully developed. There are a few occurrences of present tense constructions in OT and they are very few when compared to the occurrences of past and non-past. But in course of time the distinction between future and present has fully developed and even in the Middle Tamil period we find a fully developed tense system having three way contrast viz. past, present and future and not to speak of various aspects.

<i>vante:n</i>	came-I
<i>varuve:n</i>	will come-I
<i>varukire n</i>	come-I

13.2.1.

Present tense

In OT there are a very few occurrences of present tense constructions and that is the reason why it has been said by many that there are only two tenses viz. past and non-past in OT. It is true that in many cutrams TOL Col. (242 etc.) has said that the finite verb of the pattern *ceyyum* is a present tense construction and it would denote universal truth, habituality etc. But we do not find any formal contrast between the present tense and future tense. It might be interpreted that when *ceyyum* pattern verb is used to denote habituality etc. it must be taken (according to TOL) as present tense construction.

-kinr- is used in OT as a present tense marker and it is found in AK, NR, PAR, TK, CIL and MM.

It is found to occur in the finite verb constructions in AK, NR and MM, in a participial noun construction in MM and in relative participle constructions in PAR, CIL and MM. Relative participle constructions are found to be slightly more numerous than the finite verb constructions. But it has to be mentioned only one verb viz. *a:k* alone is found in the finite verb constructions.

<i>a:kinratu</i>	becomes-it	AK 96-18
		AK 296-14
		AK 368-19
<i>a:kinratu</i>		NR 227-9
		NR 272-10
		NR 354-11
<i>a:kinratu</i>		MM 29-322

But there are more verbs found inflected to relative participle.

<i>urkinra</i>	which spreads	CIL 7-35-2
<i>enkinra</i>	which someone says	MM 29-293
<i>cerkinra</i>	which joins	PAR XXII-
		35

There is also participial noun construction in MM.

<i>a:kinro:r</i>	they who are ruling	MM 26-18
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Other markers found in LOT are *-a:ninru-* and *-kir-* and they are found in TK and MM respectively.

<i>irava:ninra</i>	which loosens	TK 1157
<i>catikkira</i>	which is establishing	MM 29-299

13.2.2.

Present-Future tense

As mentioned earlier that there are only a few occurrences with clear cut present tense markers in OT and except in these cases we find contrast only between the past and non-past and the non-past is treated here under 'Present-Future tense'. It must be remembered that the suffixes not only denote 'the tense' but other things like habituality, universal truth etc. It has been mentioned that

TOL has also noticed this and it is not our intention here to go into that aspect.

In OT there are six markers viz. *-p-* (*-p-*, *-pp-* and *-v-*), *-m-*, *-k-*, *-n-*, *-t-* and *-φ-* denoting non-past. Of these *-p-* is the most important. It is true that in the surface realization we find *-p-*, *-pp-* and *-v-* as in

<i>ka:npe:n</i>	will see-I
<i>ko:ɽuppe:n</i>	will give-I
<i>varuve:n</i>	will come-I

and they are derived by some morphophonemic rules by taking *-p-* as a base form. It is also to be mentioned that unlike certain grammatical categories (Say pronominal terminations) the occurrence of tense marker is dictated by the verb roots themselves. For example it is generally said that all the strong verbs will take *-pp-* and weak verbs *-v-* and middle verbs *-p-*. This is true only in the case of *-p-* (with *-pp-* and *-v-*) and not with other markers viz. *-m-*, *-t-* etc.

13.2.2.1.

-p-

As mentioned earlier *-p-* is the most important nonpast marker and it has three variants viz. *-pp-*, *-p-* and *-v-*. *-p-* is set up as the basic form and the other two are derived by making use of certain morphophonemic rules.

This is found to occur with one set of strong verbs (which is generally mentioned in literature as strong verbs (Arden, 1969) which end in with nasals *-n* and *-ɳ*.

<i>en-p</i>	<i>enpa:r</i>	will say-they	PAR X-86
	<i>enpi:r</i>	you who will say	KL 143-9
	<i>enpo:!</i>	she who will be called	CIL 15-118
<i>ka:n-p</i>	<i>ka:npen</i>	will see-I	KR 286-1
	<i>ka:npa:r</i>	will see-they	KL 63-1
	<i>ka:npa:y</i>	will see-you (Sg.)	MM 6-175

13.2.2.2.

-pp-

-pp- is found to occur with the so called strong verbs which include

1. all *x* ending verbs which take *-nt-* and *-t-* as past tense markers.

-pp- is derived from *-p-* by making use of the rule

$$x + p > pp$$

<i>uraippe:n</i>	will say-I	PT	73-17
<i>uɽuppavai</i>	they which someone		
	will wear	PR	189-5
<i>maraippatu</i>	will protect-it	PR	35-27
<i>ukuppo:y</i>	you who waste	IN	136-3
<i>irappavai</i>	those which someone		
	will beg	PAR	V-78
<i>irappan</i>	will beg-he	TK	1067
<i>arivippa:y</i>	will inform-you	CIL	20-29
<i>ka:ppa:y</i>	you who will save	MM	6-137
<i>curappo:!</i>	she who will secrete	MM	11-115
<i>iruppavar</i>	they who will remain	AK	389-10

13 2.2.3.

-v-

In OT *-v-* is found to occur with

1. the verbs ending in vowels belonging to *-nt-* and *-iɳ-* classes.
2. the verbs ending in the consonants *-y*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-ɽ*.
3. the verbs of the pattern *CVk/ɽ/ɽ* of the *-t-* class.

1. with the vowel ending verbs belonging to *-nt-* and *-iɳ-* class.

<i>varuve:m</i>	we who will come	PT	23-11
<i>piriva:r</i>	will part-they	KR	174-5
<i>taruyatu</i>	that which one		
	will give	KL	15-26
<i>pa:ɽuvar</i>	will sing-they	PR	30-10

<i>ku:fuven</i>	will join-I	KL	67-13
<i>a:fuvir</i>	will bathe-you	CIL	11-100

2. with the verbs ending in the consonants *-y*, *-r*, *-l*, *-l* and *!*

<i>ceyva:n</i>	he who will do	KL	69-5
<i>pa:tarvo:r</i>	they who will travel	CIL	10-219
<i>celye:n</i>	will go-I	KL	140-11
<i>va:lye:n</i>	will live-I	KR	341-7
<i>ko:lyan</i>	he who will have	PT	57-15

3. With the verbs of the pattern *CVk/!/r* of the *-t-* class.

<i>nakuye:n</i>	will laugh-I	NR	100-1
<i>pukuva:n</i>	he who will enter	MM	20-99
<i>vi:fuvai</i>	will (cause me)		
	leave-you	PR	359-16
<i>pa:fuval</i>	will be-I	AK	370-7
<i>ke:fuva</i>	will perish-they	NR	16-6
<i>i:fuva:n</i>	will cast-I	KL	147-51
<i>u:fuvar</i>	they who will come	PT	43-11
<i>pe:fuva:n</i>	one who will get	TK	842

It has been said that *-p-* occurs after the strong verbs and middle verbs and *-v-* after weak verbs. This is true in almost all the grammatical categories with one or two exceptions

Though *-v-* is found to occur after the so called weak verbs *-p-* replaces it in the case of epicene plural constructions and participial noun constructions with *-av-*.

<i>enpa</i>	will say-they		
	(Human)	PT	58-12
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	PR	1-4
<i>a:kupa</i>	will become-they	KR	17-4
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	AK	27-5
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	IN	41-2
<i>mo:lipa</i>	will say-they	NR	290-9
<i>pe:rupa</i>	will get-they	KL	94-8
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	PAR	V-49
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	TK	60
<i>enpu</i>	will say-they	MM	30-15

Of course there are a few exceptions in which we find *-p-* even with neuter plural (See epicene plural under *-a*).

participial nouns with *-av-*

<i>a:lpavan</i>	he who will sink	KL	134-24
<i>va:lpavan</i>	he who will live	TK	47
<i>alipava!</i>	she who will suffer	KL	10-19
<i>tunipava!</i>	she who will sulk	PAR XXI-22	
<i>ko:lpavar</i>	they who will have	PR	5-6
<i>kolpavar</i>	they who will have	NR	292-3
<i>anipavar</i>	they who will wear	KL	9-15
<i>a:ncupavar</i>	they who will fear	TK	464
<i>kolpavai</i>	they (neut) who		
	will have	KL	114-1

In this connection it may be noted that the occurrence of *-p-* with weak verbs may be due to dissimilation.

It has been said that strong verbs take *-pp-* as non-past marker. But in OT there are very many occurrences where we find that *-v-* also is found to be used to denote non-past. In such cases *-v-* is always found with *-k-*

<i>ko:fu:kkuven</i>	will give-I	PR	73-4
<i>pu:narkkuven</i>	will join-I	AK	263-13
<i>i:rakkuven</i>	will beg-I	IN	159-4
<i>ke:fu:kkuven</i>	will hear-I	NR	218-10
<i>na:ia:kkuvan</i>	will walk-I	MM	13-36
<i>ka:nknval</i>	will see-I	PT	73-16
<i>ke:fu:kkuven</i>	will hear-I	PR	225-9
<i>ma:ra:kkuvan</i>	will prevent-he	PR	290-8
<i>tu:rkkuvan</i>	will make dry-he	PP	9-271
<i>ke:fu:kkuven</i>	will hear-he	MM	20-18
<i>ka:nkuvem</i>	will see-we	IN	443-3
<i>ti:rkkuvem</i>	will remedy-we	PR	381-16
<i>i:rakkuvar</i>	they who will beg	PR	73-2

In this connection it has also to be noted that not only strong verbs but weak verbs as well has both *-k-* and *-v-*

<i>ceykuval</i>	will do-I	MM 23-40
<i>un̄kuyam</i>	will eat-we	PT 58-7
<i>cel̄kuyam</i>	will go-we	PT 46-14
<i>ceȳkuvai</i>	will do-you	PT 36-14
<i>cel̄kuvai</i>	will go-you	PT 53-5
<i>per̄ukuyai</i>	will receive-you	PT 67-4
<i>cel̄kuyir</i>	will go-you	PP 3-145
<i>cel̄kuvir</i>	will go-you	CIL 11-91
<i>tup̄ikuyan̄</i>	will dare-he	AK 380-11
<i>per̄ukuyan̄</i>	will get-he	IN 271-3
		NR 119-10
<i>amaik̄uva:n̄</i>	will remain-she	KL 30-6
<i>var̄ukuya!</i>	will come-she	KR 113-6
<i>tap̄ikuya!</i>	will become	
	calm-she	AK 22-6
<i>per̄ukuya!</i>	will get-she	NR 351-9
<i>cel̄kuya!</i>	will go-she	PAR XIX-64
<i>te!̄ikubar</i>	will be clear-they	PT 73-15

Note that *-kuy-* is found to occur in all persons. In this connection it has to be mentioned that *-k-* alone is used as non-past and it is dealt with separately.

13.2.2.4.

-(u)m

-um is also found to occur in OT denoting non-past. It is well known that the finite verbs of the pattern *ceyyum* have *-um* ending and that always denotes non-past. In the strong verbs it always has *-kk-* before it which can be explained by morphonemic rules and this can be predicted.

-um is found in finite verb and relative participle constructions and in OT they are used abundantly.

Relative Participle

<i>peyarum</i>	who will return	PT 30-20
<i>añcum</i>	which will fear	PR 361-16
<i>pu!̄ikkum</i>	which will blossom	KR 82-5
<i>aruntum</i>	who will eat	AK 381-3

Finite verb

<i>mikum</i>	will excel-it	PT 38-2
<i>ta:yum mañam tiriyum</i>	mother will also	
	change her mind	PR 183-4
<i>ve:nta^unum</i>	<i>ka:kkum</i> king will protect	
		PR 191-4-5

-(u)m- is found to occur in various other finite verb constructions as well. Examples like

<i>upmar</i>	they who will eat	PT 24-18
<i>enmar</i>	one who will say	KR 395-6
<i>ceymma:r</i>	will do-they	PT 54-14
<i>teruma:r</i>	will derive-they	PT 27-6
<i>upma:r</i>	they who will eat	PR 46-3
<i>enmana:r</i>	will say-they	KR 234-3
<i>va:lumo:r</i>	they who will live	PT 71-27
<i>niñayumo:r</i>	they who will think	NR 104-12
<i>pañumo:r</i>	they who will be	
	praised	PR 197-9
<i>añcumavar</i>	one who fears	TK 727

are found in OT texts. It is found in finite verb as well as participial noun constructions.

In this connection it has to be noted that empty morph *-añ-* is also found to occur with *(u)m-* in the expression

<i>enmana:r</i>	will say-they	KR 234-3
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and in TOL itself we find

<i>icaikkumana</i>	will indicate-it	TOL 484
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<i>enmana:r</i>	they who will	
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be said TOL 484

etc. with *-añ-*. It is generally believed that *-añ-* occurs only with past tense signs as in

<i>arintanar</i>	knew-they	PT 84-10
<i>konñanar</i>	they who had	PR 373-30

etc. But a quick look of OT shows that *-añ-* is also found to occur after non-past markers too.

<i>vi.ñkuvana!</i>	will weep-she	NR 179-6
<i>varuvana!</i>	will come-she	NR 339-6
<i>amarppana!</i>	will fight-she	NR 305-8

<i>a:rp̄pana!</i>	will hear-she	PP	5-88
<i>niṇaivana!</i>	will think-she	PP	7-163
<i>olkuvana</i>	will walk-they	PT	78-5
<i>ka:ppana</i>	they who will		
	protect	PR	337-15
<i>uṭaippana</i>	they who will break	CIL	10-134
<i>eṭivana</i>	they who will sound	PR	369-3
<i>e:kuvana</i>	they who will go	AK	354-6
<i>pukuvana</i>	they who will come	IN	432-3
<i>taruvana</i>	they who will give	NR	8-6
<i>aṭaivana</i>	they who will		
	proclaim	KL	104-26
<i>pakarvana</i>	they who will tell	CIL	3-169
<i>enmana:r</i>	will say-they	KR	234-3

etc. are found in OT. The occurrence of *-aṇ-* after non-past might be due to analogy and it does not continue to live upto MOT.

13.2 2 5.

-t-

-t- is also found to denote non-past in several cases as found in

<i>aḷitti</i>	will pity-you (Sg.)	PT	79-3
<i>politi</i>	will give-you (Sg.)	PT	64-18
<i>po:ta:y</i>	will go-you (Sg.)	TK	1123-1
<i>viṇayutir</i>	will ask-you (Pl.)	PR	191-2
<i>ce:rir</i>	will go-you (Pl.)	KR	268-1
<i>niṇaitir</i>	will think-you (Pl.)	NR	318-1

There are a few more instances like the above in OT texts like AK (81-15), KL (146-12), PP (2-175), CIL (11-123) and MM (25-43) where we find *-t-* with second person singular and plural terminations.

Similarly there are a few places where *-t-* also occurs in the first person expressions like,

<i>uḷḷutum</i>	will think-we	PR	197-18
<i>ka:ṇṭum</i>	will see-we	PR	173-9
<i>ce:rum</i>	will go-we	KL	110-23

It is true that traditional grammarians would consider these expressions as *-tum* and *-zum* endings. But they can also be segmented as *-t-* and *-um*.

Native grammarians have not listed *-t-* as a tense marker though as shown above it is found to occur in many of the OT texts denoting non-past. But it is very gratifying to note that Nac (Col. 226) quotes examples like

kaṭattir pass-you

saying- *-t-* denotes present tense.

It is also to be noted that several dialects of MOT has *-t-* as a present tense marker. (Yesudhasan, 1977 : 262).

-t- is found to occur with all the verbs (strong, weak and middle).

<i>niṇaitir</i>	will think-you	NR	318-1
<i>viṇayutir</i>	will ask-you	PR	191-2
<i>aḷitti</i>	will pity-you	PT	79-3
<i>politi</i>	will give-you	PT	64-18

13.2.2 6.

-k-

-k- also denotes non-past in OT and it is found to occur with first person singular and plural markers only.

<i>a:r̄ruke:n</i>	will perform-I	KL	140-14
<i>kaḷaike:n</i>	will remove-I	CIL	15-68
<i>na:ṭuke:n</i>	will seek-I	CIL	19-69
<i>paṭarke:n</i>	will proceed-I	CIL	27-104
<i>uṇke:n</i>	will eat-I	MM	10-39
<i>uṇarke:n</i>	will feel-I	MM	18-156
<i>uraikke:n</i>	will say-I	MM	16-113
<i>ceyke:n</i>	will do-I	MM	16-136
<i>nukarke:m</i>	will enjoy-we	PT	38-13
<i>pa:ṭukam</i>	will sing-we	PR	32-6
<i>ayarkam</i>	will play-we	KR	80-3

<i>celkam</i>	will go-we	AK 325-13
<i>a:ɸukam</i>	will play-we	IN 412-4
<i>pa:ɸukam</i>	will sing-we	KL 41-1
<i>e:ttukam</i>	will praise-we	PAR XV-18
<i>ayarkam</i>	will celebrate-we	PP 8-232
<i>ka:ɸkam</i>	will see-he	TK 1301
<i>pa:ɸukam</i>	will sing-we	CIL 246-4

As shown above there are several occurrences in OT where we find *-k-* as a non-past marker.

It is to be mentioned that *-k-* is not generally considered as a non-past marker. Probably this may be due to the fact that *-k-* occurs in negative expressions also. In CIL we find an instance.

<i>peruke:n</i>	will not get-I	CIL 9-44
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with negative meaning. However, Nac. mentions (Col. 204) that *-k-* denotes future and gives examples like

<i>nakukam</i>	will laugh-we
<i>pa:ɸukam</i>	will sing-we

-k- is also found in first person expressions like

<i>ka:ɸku</i>	will see-I	PT 16-9
<i>ka:ɸkum</i>	will see-we	KL 80-26

etc. There *-k-* can be taken as a non-past marker.

13.2.2.7.

-n-

-n- is another marker found in OT denoting non-past and it is found only in conjugated noun expressions like

<i>aɸiyunar</i>	they who know	PT 26-4
<i>pa:ɸunar</i>	they who sing	PR 238-7
<i>vaɸiyunar</i>	they who stay	PP 10-492

In PR alone there are seventy-five occurrences and in AK we find the largest number i.e. seventy nine. In PT there are thirty, in NR fourteen, in IN ten and in TK only three.

Unlike participial nouns these nouns do not show any contrast in tenses and they always denote only one tense viz non-past marked by *-n-*.

Another important fact is that *-n-* is found to occur with all the verbs (whether it is strong, weak or middle).

<i>aɸiyunar</i>	they who know	PT 26-4
<i>ka:ɸunar</i>	they who will see	PT 19-26
<i>iɸukkunar</i>	they who will get	MM 14-40

-n- is generally used to denote habituality and this very well accounts for the absence of tense contrast. In MOT habituality is expressed in participial nouns by *-kir-* and in finite verbs by non-past markers.

<i>nalla: ca:ppiɸukirayan</i>	he who eats well
<i>nalla: ca:ppiɸuva:n</i>	he eats well

In this connection it has to be mentioned that *-n-* is used as a non-past marker in Tuḷu, Gondi, Konda, Pengo, Kui, Kolami, Kurux and Malto (P. S. Subrahmanyam, 1971). It has also been noted by the commentator of PR (Purana:nuru, 1973: 103) who says that *-n-* denotes non-past. He says that *-n-* in

<i>aɸunai</i>	you who will kill	PR 36-1
<i>viɸunai</i>	you who will leave	PR 36-1

is a future tense marker (Puram 36).

But there is one snag in taking *-n-* as a tense marker as it is found in appellative verbs like

<i>vallunai</i>	you who are strong	PT 52-27
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where one cannot expect any tense marker. Though *-n-* denotes non-past in various expressions, like *aɸunai*, *viɸunai* etc. it has lost its significance as there is no tense contrast in these expressions and it has come to be used more as a marker of habituality than tense. This has hastened the

process of analogy and due to this appellative forms are also found with *-n-*.

It is true that *-n-* occurs mostly in conjugated noun expressions. However there are a few instances in OT where we find *-n-* in other than conjugated noun forms.

<i>koḷḷunai</i>	have-you (Sg.)	PT 17-3
<i>a:rkuna</i>	will eat-they	AK 340-5

13.2 2.8.

-φ-

There are a few occurrences of non-past expressions where we don't find any overt tense marker. It is found that certain first person and second person expressions do not have any overt marker to show tense. Examples like

<i>cinava:y</i>	will be angry-you	PT 32-17
<i>cella:m</i>	will go-we	PT 57-6
<i>cella:m</i>	will go-we	PR 64-2
<i>koḷḷi:r</i>	will have-you (Pl.)	AK 390-9
<i>ka:pi:r</i>	will see-you (Pl.)	AK 236-16

show this phenomenon. In this connection it has to be mentioned that only in the first and second persons we find *-φ-* as a non-past marker. It is also found where the second person forms are used as imperative.

<i>cella:y</i>	you go!	PT 40-21
<i>ninaiya:y</i>	you think!	KR 343-1
<i>va:ra:y</i>	you come	AK 285-15
<i>aruḷa:y</i>	you give!	KL 60-18
<i>vanti:ja:y</i>	you come!	KL 114-5

14.0.

Pronominal Terminations

14.1.

First person singular

In OT, there are 5 markers denoting first person singular and they are *-en*, *-e:n*, *-a:n*, *-al*, and *u-* (*-ku*, *-tu*, *-tu* and *ru* (See under Tense)).

Of all these *-e:n* seems to be very predominant and it forms more than 50% of the total number of all the occurrences. However, in KL *-e:n* is found to be more predominant than in any of the other texts.

	<i>-e:n</i>	<i>all others</i>
PR	50	73
KR	31	54
PT	3	25
KL	184	65
TK	41	12
CIL	82	26
MM	132	11

In PT, we find *-e:n* (3) *-en* (4) *-an* (1) *-al* (2) and *-ku* (10) and forms like *vantici:n* with *-ici:n* is also found to occur in 8 places giving the meaning 'came-I'.

-e:n and *-en* are in a way in complementary distribution, the former occurring predominantly after negative *-φ-* and the latter after the empty morph *-an-* which generally follows various past markers.

TOL, the earliest extant grammar in Tamil speaks about all the markers except *-an*. TOL also does not speak anything about *-ici:n* in this context. *-ici:n* of course, is found to occur after the past tense alone and it occurs not only in the 1st person but also in other persons. *-an* is considered by many (P. S. Sastri 1934 : 159) as a corrupted form of *-al*. But it has to be noted that *-al* occurs only in the non-past whereas *-an* comes with all tenses.

14.1.1.

-e:n

In PT *-e:n* occurs after

1. negative *-φ-*

2. non-past
3. various appellative stems

though it is found to occur after

4. various past markers
5. negative *-a:t-*
6. negative *-al-* and
7. negative *-il-*

in other texts.

14.1.1.1.

after negative *-φ-*

There is only one occurrence in the whole of PT, though in other texts we find more than 115 occurrences.

<i>va:re:n</i>	will not come-I	PT 61-11
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14.1.1.2.

after non-past

<i>uraippe:n</i>	will say-I	PT 73-17
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14.1.1.3.

after various appellative stems

<i>alle:n</i>	not-I	PT 74-23
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14.1.1.4.

after various past markers

<i>irunte:n</i>	seated-I	PR 399-18
<i>a:ĩnte:n</i>	knew-I	KR 84-2
<i>eytine:n</i>	attained-I	AK 268-14
<i>e:utte:n</i>	got-I	IN 380-4
<i>varuntine:n</i>	suffered-I	NR 61-3
<i>a:ĩankine:n</i>	subdued-I	KL 94-37
<i>uparnte:n</i>	felt-I	PAR 18-9
<i>vante:n</i>	came-I	PP 4-461
<i>a:ĩnte:n</i>	knew-I	TK 1083-2
<i>vante:n</i>	came-I	CIL 11-52
<i>vante:n</i>	came-I	MM 7-18

14.1.1.5.

after negative *-a:t-*

<i>tuñca:te:n</i>	will not sleep-I	KR 6-4
<i>tuñca:te:n</i>	will not sleep-I	AK 45-19
<i>a:ĩya:te:n</i>	I who did not know	NR 144-10

14.1.1.6.

after negative *-al-*

<i>maravale:n</i>	will not forget-I	PR 395-32
<i>arikale:n</i>	did not know-I	NR 206-11
<i>amaikal l)e:n</i>	will not remain-I	KL 104-66
<i>a:t:ale:n</i>	bear-not-I	PP 8-29

14.1.1.7.

after negative *-il-*

<i>vaittile:n</i>	did not place-I	MM 29-44
<i>kanfile:n</i>	did not see-I	MM 24-52
<i>te:littile:n</i>	not cleared-I	MM 22-95

14.1.2.

-en

In PT *-en* occurs after

1. empty morph *-an-*
though it is found in other texts after
2. past tense *-in-*
3. various non-past markers
4. negative *-al-* and
5. various appellative stems

14.1.2.1.

empty morph *-an-*

<i>maruñtanen</i>	puzzled-I	PT 15-34
<i>cettanen</i>	thought-I	PT 86-4

14.1.2.2.

after past *-in-*

<i>e:ttinen</i>	praised-I	PR 283-5
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<i>no:kkinen</i>	saw-I	KR 249-4
<i>na:ninen</i>	was ashamed-I	AK 386-3
<i>uļlinen</i>	thought-I	NR 3-7
<i>ma:rinen</i>	changed-I	KL 46-11
<i>arattinen</i>	lamented-I	CIL 30-37

14.1.3.

-al

-al seems to occur more in OT than in MT, though it can be found in certain MT texts. -al comes always after non past markers -v- and -p-.

14.1.2.3.

after various non past markers

<i>koṭukkuven</i>	will give-I	PR 73-4
<i>ka:npen</i>	will see-I	KR 286-1
<i>moliven</i>	will say-I	AK 222-3
<i>puṇarkkuven</i>	will join-I	AK 263-13
<i>irakkuven</i>	will beg-I	IN 159-4
<i>ke:ṭkuven</i>	will hear-I	NR 218-10
<i>orukkuven</i>	will dislike-I	KL 97-2
<i>ka:npen</i>	will see-I	CIL 20-3
<i>aṇcuven</i>	will be afraid-I	MM 8-27

ka:ṇkuval will see-I, PT 73-16*ka:ṇpal* will see-I, PT 77-12

Note that we find -ku- between the verb root and the non-past marker -v- and this tendency can be found in words like

<i>koṭukkuven</i>	will give-I,	PR 73-4
<i>irakkuven</i>	will beg-I.	IN 159-4
<i>ceykuval</i>	will do-I,	MM 23-40
<i>naṭakkuvan</i>	will walk-I,	MM 13-36

14.1.2.4.

after negative -al-

<i>amaiyalen</i>	not leave-I	PR 164-10
<i>ve:ṇṭalen</i>	will not desire-I	KR 280-5
<i>uṇṭyalen</i>	will not live-I	AK 253-8
<i>piriyalen</i>	will not part-I	IN 18-4
<i>u:ṭṭalen</i>	I who did not feed	KL 83-5

14.1.2.5.

after various appellative stems

<i>kalviyen</i>	of learning-I	PR 346-3
<i>uḷen</i>	am-I	KR 125-2
<i>allen</i>	not-I	AK 226-1
<i>aḷiyen</i>	of pity-I	IN 460-5

-en can be generally considered as an OT feature though we find it in MT texts also and even in later OT works it begins to be out of use. In other texts -en occurs predominantly after the empty morph -aṇ-.

14.1.4.

-ku

-ku is generally found only in OT. CIL has 7 occurrences of it and MM has 1. It does not occur in many of the MT texts and yet this has been listed by all the grammars with the exception of VC. VC does not mention anything about -ku, -ṭu, tu and ṭu at all and the commentator is also silent about them. In PT there are 9 occurrences of -ku -ku, -tu etc. can be further segmented into k+u, t+u etc.

1. It occurs immediately after the verb stems.

<i>irakku</i>	will beg-I,	PT 61-11
<i>ka:ṇku</i>	will see-I,	PT 16-9
<i>celku</i>	will go-I,	PT 76-9
<i>uraittu</i>	said-I,	AK 299-10

In only one instance (KR 192-2) it occurs after negative -a:l-

a:l:ṭku will not cry-I, KR 192-2

14.1.5.

-icin

As already said- *-icin* is found to occur in PT, giving the force of first person singular. It is always found after the past tense markers as in *vanticin* 'came-I'. Out of 8 occurrences, in only one (90-55) the subject *pa:n* is overtly expressed.

vanticin came-I, PT 15-15

14.2.

First person plural

In OT, we find 6 markers viz., *-e:m*, *-am*, *-a:m*, *-em*, *-um* (*-kum* *-tum*, *-ium* and *-rum* (See under Tense), and *-o:m* denoting first person plural. Of these *-e:m* and *-am* are very predominant which are followed by *-ium* and *-a:m*. *-o:m* is found to be very rare though it has outnumbered other markers in due course.

TOL. has also listed (Cu. 687) 8 markers leaving *-o:m*. It has to be noted that in OT there are 11 occurrences of *-o:m* PR (1), IN (1) (CIL (1) and MM (2)) However, Dei. one of the commentators inclines to claim that TOL. has mentioned it in Cu. 203 (Dei. Col. 203).

In PT we find *-e:m*, *-am*, *-a:m*, and *-kum*. *-em* which is found in all the OT texts except KL, PP, TK, CIL and MM is not attested in PT. Similarly *-tum* which is attested in all the OT is also not found in PT.

14.2.1.

-e:m

-e:m is found to occur in PT in 4 places and it occurs after

1. non-past markers
2. various appellative stems

though it is found in other OT texts occurring after

3. various past markers and

4. negative *-φ-*

14.2.1.1.

after non-past

<i>nukarke:m</i>	will enjoy-we,	PT 38-13
<i>varuve:m</i>	we who will come,	PT 23-11

As has been shown above *-e:m* occurs after *-k-* also. *-k-* is not generally considered as a non-past marker. Probably this may be due to its occurrences in negative expressions also. In CIL, we find an instance.

<i>peruke:n</i>	will not get-I	CIL 9-44
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with negative meaning.

14.2.1.2.

after various appellative stems

<i>anaiye:m</i>	similar-we	PT 63-14
<i>alle:m</i>	not-we	PT 58-7

14.2.1.3.

after various past markers

<i>pa:pipe:m</i>	sang-we	PR 144-3
<i>alkiye:m</i>	stayed-we	AK 261-12
<i>ve:ffe:m</i>	desired-we	IN 10-6
<i>kurukine:m</i>	approached-we	NR 250-6
<i>onrine:m</i>	joined-we	KL 86-15
<i>irunte:m</i>	remained-we	KL 51-5
<i>e:ttine:m</i>	praised-we	PAR II-74
<i>atinte:m</i>	knew-we	PAR IV-4
<i>perre:m</i>	got-we	TK 626-1
<i>iolute:m</i>	worshipped-we	CIL 12-18-2
<i>cenre:m</i>	went-we	MM 26-35

14.2.1.4.

after negative -φ-

<i>va:re:m</i>	will not come-we	PR 145-4
<i>ka:pe:m</i>	will not see-we	KR 290-3

<i>ariviye:m</i>	will not inform-we	AK	52-10
<i>va:le:m</i>	will not live-we	IN	239-5
<i>ka:pe:m</i>	will not see-we	KL	9-9
<i>vi:te:m</i>	will not abandon-		
	we	PP	8-177
<i>ma:tte:m</i>	will not do-we	CIL	7-32-4

14.2.2.

-am

-am is found to occur in 7 instances in PT. It occurs after

1. the empty morph *-aŋ-*
2. various non-past markers

though it is, found in other OT texts occurring after

3. past *iŋ-*
4. various negative markers.
 - a. negative *-al-*
 - b. negative *-il-* and
5. various appellative stems

14.2.2.1.

after the empty morph *-aŋ-*

<i>kaŋŋaŋam</i>	saw-we	PT	23-11
<i>nukaŋntaŋam</i>	enjoyed-we	PT	58-5

In OT *-am* is more predominant in various environments than *-em* though both of them can occur in the same environments. While there are 68 occurrences of *-am*, we find only 11 of *-em* in the whole of OT texts.

14.2.2.2.

after various non-past markers

<i>upkuyam</i>	will eat-we	PT	58-7
<i>celkuyam</i>	will go-we	PT	46-14
<i>ce:rukam</i>	will go-we	PT	49-1

Note that with *-v-*, *-k-* is also found to occur as a non-past marker with *-am*. It has been noticed already that *-k-* also occurs with *-em*. When we go through the whole of OT texts, we find that the number of occurrences of *-k-* with *-am* is found to be more than with *-v-*. Though *-k-* has not been listed as a non-past marker by any of the grammarians, Nac. in Cu. 204 mentions that *-k-* denotes future. Instances of *-k-* can be found in various OT texts.

<i>pa:ŋukam</i>	will sing-we	PR	32-6
<i>ayarkam</i>	will play-we	KR	80-3
<i>celkam</i>	will go-we	AK	325-13
<i>a:ŋukam</i>	will play-we	IN	412-4
<i>a:ŋukam</i>	will bathe-we	NR	68-5
<i>pa:ŋukam</i>	will sing-we	KL	41-1
<i>e:ttukam</i>	will praise-we	PAR	XV-18
<i>ayarkam</i>	will celebrate-we	PP	8-232
<i>ka:ŋkam</i>	will see-we	TK	1301-2
<i>pa:ŋukam</i>	will sing-we	CIL	24-6-4

14.2.2.3

after past *-iŋ-*

<i>aŋcinam</i>	feared-we	PR	229-17
<i>colliŋam</i>	said-we	KR	350-3
<i>kuŋukiŋam</i>	neared-we	AK	230-13
<i>ni:ŋiŋam</i>	delayed-we	IN	478-1
<i>a:ŋiŋam</i>	played-we	NR	368-4
<i>pa:ŋiŋam</i>	we who sang	KL	106-48
<i>e:ttiŋam</i>	praised-we	PAR	XIX-
			105
<i>v:ŋiŋam</i>	desired-we	MM	21-52

14.2.2.4.

after various negative markers

a. after negative *-al-*

<i>aŋcalam</i>	will not be		
	afraid-we	PR	397-25
<i>tuŋcalam</i>	will not sleep-we	KR	138-1
<i>a:ŋalam</i>	will not tolerate-we	IN	227-3

<i>piriyalam</i>	will not part-we	NR	224-7
<i>to:yalam</i>	will not embrace-we	KL	77-21
<i>aṭiyalam</i>	will not know-we	TK	1257

b. after negative -il-

<i>kaṇṭilam</i>	did not see-we	MM	29-81
<i>aṭintilam</i>	did not know-we	MM	22-127

14.2.2.5.

after various appellative stems

<i>periyam</i>	big-we	PR	78-5
<i>ilam</i>	not-we	KR	168-6
<i>allam</i>	not-we	AK	183-15
<i>ve:ṭkaiyam</i>	of desire-we	IN	359-1
<i>allam</i>	not-we	KL	62-18
<i>allam</i>	not-we	NR	159-9
<i>ilam</i>	have not-we	PP	10-552
<i>ka:ṭalam</i>	of the love-we	TK	1314
<i>a:ṭṭalam</i>	of the strength-we	GIL	26-154
<i>periyam</i>	of good quality-we	MM	26-59

14.2.3.

-a:m

There are 2 occurrences of *-a:m* in PT and one and the same form *cella:m* occurs twice 57-6(2)

-a:m occurs after

1. non-past- ϕ -
though it is found in other OT texts
occurring after
2. ϕ - negative

14.2.3.1.

after non past ϕ -

<i>cella:m</i>	will go-we	PT	57-6
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and this can be found in various other works also.

<i>cella:m</i>	will go-we	PR	64-2
<i>ka:ṇa:m</i>	will see-we	AK	110-19
<i>ke:ṭa:m</i>	will hear-we	KL	144-8

14.2.3.2.

after negative ϕ -

<i>nilla:m</i>	will not remain-we	KR	218-3
<i>ceyya:m</i>	will not do-we	AK	106-7
<i>uraiya:m</i>	will not tell-we	NR	263-4

14.2.4.

-em

-em occurs after

1. the empty morph *-aṇ-*
2. the past *-iṇ-* and
3. various non-past markers

From the above distribution one can easily generalize that *-am* and *-em* are almost in free variation. In the whole of OT texts *-em* occurs less when compared to *-am*, though both of them are not very common in MT as well as in MOT. *-em* does not find any place in PT, KL, PP, TK, CIL and MM. Out of 12 works under analysis it is found only in 6.

14.2.4 1.

after the empty morph *-aṇ-*

<i>iruntanem</i>	remained-we	PR	381-4
<i>urranem</i>	attained-we	KR	61-6
<i>ninṛanem</i>	stood-we	AK	48-16
<i>ottanem</i>	were fit-we	NR	380-6
<i>kaṇṭanem</i>	saw-we	IN	69-1
<i>tolutanem</i>	worshipped-we	PAR XIII-61	

14.2 4.2.

after past *-iṇ-*

There are only 8 instances of *-em* after *-iṇ-* and in MT we find only one

<i>ve:ṇiṇem</i>	desired-we	PR	140-5
<i>a:yiṇem</i>	became-we	AK	262-13
<i>iṭaiṇcinem</i>	worshipped-we	PAR XIII-	

14.2.4.3

after various non-past markers

There are only 4 instances (KR (1) and IN(3)) in the whole of OT texts. In MT also it is not found as other markers, and only one occurrence is attested and that too in KAM.

<i>en:kuyem</i>	will thus say-we	KR	191-7
<i>ka:nkuyem</i>	will see-we	IN	443-3

14.2.5.

-kum

-kum denotes both first person plural and non-past. In PT, we do not find *-kum* as in *ka:nkum* (will see-I) *ceykum* (will do-I) etc. But *-ikum* is found and it occurs in 6 occurrences. Similar expressions are found in AK (1), PR (1), and IN (13) and *-ikum* is found immediately after various past tense markers as in *kanfikum* 'saw-we'.

<i>kanfikum</i>	saw-we	PT	11-20
		PT	24-17
		PT	43-31
		PT	65-13
		PT	84-20
<i>ke:fifikum</i>	heard-we	PT	52-12

It has been said that out of 9 markers only *-e:m*, *-am*, *-a:m* and *-kum* alone are found in PT though *-em*, *-tum*, *-fum*, *-rum* and *-o:m* are found in other OT texts.

14.2.6.

-tum

-tum occurs after various verb stems

<i>u:lutum</i>	will think-we	PT	197-18
<i>añcutum</i>	will fear-we	KR	302-3
<i>añcutum</i>	will fear-we	AK	118-6
<i>a:putum</i>	will play-we	IN	77-3
<i>añcutum</i>	will fear-we	NR	359-5
<i>ceytum</i>	will do-we	KL	108-51

<i>tolutum</i>	will worship-we	PAR	II-19
<i>varutum</i>	will come-we	PP	3-143
<i>ilattum</i>	will loose-we	TK	1250
<i>a:putum</i>	will dance-we	GIL	17-5-8
<i>icaittum</i>	will say-we	MM	19-50

14.2.7.

-fum

-fum occurs after the verb stems ending in *n*

There are only two occurrences of *-fum* in the whole of OT, one in PR and another in CIL.

<i>ka:nfum</i>	will see-we	PR	173-9
<i>ka:nfum</i>	will see-we	CIL	29-1-28

14.2.8.

-rum

-rum occurs after the verb stems ending in *l* and *n*

<i>ce:rum</i>	will go-we	PR	113-7
<i>ce:rum</i>	will go-we	KR	80-3
<i>ce:rum</i>	will go-we	AK	143-9
<i>enrum</i>	will say-we	IN	110-3
<i>ce:rum</i>	will go-we	KL	110-23

14.2.9.

-o:m

-o:m is rare in OT. Altogether there are only eleven occurrences, out of which seven are found in CIL and two in MM and one each in PR, and IN. This shows that *-o:m* is a later development and it is generally considered that it might have developed from *-e:m*. *-e:* might have become *-o:* before *-m*. Various commentators of TOL (Cen. 211, Nac. 213) also think that *-o:m* had come from *-e:m*.

e: → o: / -m

The distributions of *-e:m* and *-o:m* also confirm this.

It has to be noted that *-o:m* in MT prevails upon all the other markers and in due course it has replaced all of them. No other marker is found in MOT.

-o:m occurs after

1. various past markers
2. various non-past markers and
3. various appellative stems

Though it does not occur in the negative in OT, in MT we find very many instances of this.

14.2.9 1.

after various past markers

Only three occurrences IN (1) CIL (2) are found in the whole of OT texts.

<i>maṭanto:m</i>	forgot-we	IN 112-4
<i>a:ṭino:m</i>	bathed-we	CIL 24-7-2

14.2.9.2.

after various non-past markers

There are seven occurrences, five in CIL and one each in PR and MM.

<i>ti:rkkuvo:m</i>	will remedy-we	PR 331-16
<i>va:ṭituvo:m</i>	will praise-we	CIL 28-12-3
<i>uḷalvo:m</i>	will suffer-we	MM 26-41

14.2.9.3.

after various appellative stems

Only one occurrence is attested in OT

<i>ilo:m</i>	do not have-we	MM 5-56
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14.3.

Second Person singular

In OT there are 4 markers namely *-ai*, *-a:y*, *-o:y* and *-i*, (excluding *-mati*, *-mo:* etc. which can be rightly dealt with under 'Imperative'), denoting

second person singular. There are several cases where the second person plural markers like *-ir*, *-i:r* are also used in the place of singular denoting the so called honorific singular which are not dealt with here. Of all these *-ai* occupies a prominent place in OT. In PT there are 58 occurrences of *-ai* and *-a:y* is found to occur only in 3 places.

But in CIL it is reversed and *-ai* has 13 occurrences but *-a:y* 57. This is also the case with TK and MM. Even in KL the number of *a:y* is more than that of *ai*.

	<i>-ai</i>	<i>-a:y</i>
PR	130	19
PT	58	3
PP	11	3
KL	97	161
TK	0	8
CIL	13	57
MM	57	127

TOL. considers Imperative (Imp.) also, as Second person verb, though there are certain differences between them. It treats both second person verbs and Imp together. It is well known that the suffix *-min* is always used in the Imperative plural and yet it is listed with the second person plural markers by TOL. in his cut 709 with *-ir*, and *-i:r*. It is true that Imperative is always used in the second person. But all second person verbs are not imperative.

TOL. (708) speaks of only 3 markers *-i*, *-ai* and *-a:y*. Items like *mati*, *-mo:* etc. are treated by it (759) as second person expletives *-o:y* is referred to by Tolka:ppiyam as a derivative of *-a:y* (697). Mention has to be made that *-i* does not occur in OT with any other tense markers except with *-t-* which can be rightly considered as a tense marker.

In PT, we find *-ai*, *-a:y*, *-o:y* and *-i*. As in other early OT texts (except KL) *-ai* is very predominant.

14.3.1.

-ai

-ai occurs after

1. empty morph *-an-*
2. past *-in-*
3. various non-past markers
4. negative *-al-*
5. various appellative stems

14.3.1.1.

after *-an-*

<i>arintanai</i>	knew-you	PT 71-26
<i>civantanai</i>	got angry-you	PT 27-1

14.3.1.2.

after past *-in-*

<i>aruttinai</i>	caused to eat-you	PT 70-18
<i>a:yinai</i>	became-you	PT 52-26
<i>ni:tinai</i>	extended-you	PT 16-9

Though it is possible that *-a:y* can also occur after past *-in-* and thereby *-a:y* and *-ai* are in free variation it does not occur in PT. In the whole of OT texts only in KL *-a:y* is found to occur with *-in-*

<i>a:tinai</i>	bathed-you	KL 98-13
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14.3.1.3.

after non-past markers

<i>ceykuyai</i>	will do-you	PT 36-14
<i>celkuyai</i>	will go-you	PT 53-5
<i>perukuyai</i>	will receive-you	PT 67-4

Note that *-k-* occurs with the stem and in PT in all the 5 cases of *-v-* we find *-k-* also. Another interesting example we find in PT is

<i>kolunai</i>	have-you	PT 17-3
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where we find *-* as the non-past marker.

There are very many occurrences in other texts without *-k-*.

<i>o:tuwai</i>	will run-you	AK 125-22
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14.3.1.4.

after negative *-al-*

<i>añcalai</i>	will not fear-you	PT 63-3
<i>atiyalai</i>	will not know-you	PT 63-1

14.3.1.5.

after various appellative stems

<i>anaiyai</i>	similar-you	PT 14-4
<i>u:kkalai</i>	of the strength-you	PT 11-11

14.3.2.

-a:y

Though it is generally considered that *-a:y* is also an important second person singular marker, it has to be mentioned that *-a:y* is not very predominant either in PT or in any other OT Texts. Out of the 3 markers *-ai*, *-a:y* and *-i*, *-a:y* occurs less and even *-i* is more predominant than this. In PT, we find only 3 occurrences of *-a:y*.

-a:y occurs after

1. negative *-φ-*
2. non-past-*-φ-*

though it is found in other OT texts occurring after

3. various past markers
4. other non past markers
5. various negative markers
 - a. negative *-a:t-*
 - b. negative *-al-*
6. various appellative stems

14.3.2.1.

after negative - ϕ -

<i>aruḷa:y</i>	will not be	
	benevolent-you	PT 71-26

Mention has to be made here that in OT texts negative in Second person singular seems to have been generally expressed by - ϕ - marker with -a:y. There are a few instances where one and the same form expresses both negative and positive, though negative is very predominant in OT texts. In late OT texts this is not the case.

	- ϕ - Negative	- ϕ - Positive
PR	15	3
KR	1	2
PT	1	1
AK	32	7
IN	12	0
NR	23	1
KL	36	1
PAR	0	0
PP	1	0
TK	3	3
CIL	10	14
MM	13	52

14.3.2.2.

after non-past - ϕ -

<i>cinava:y</i>	will be angry-you	PT 32-17
<i>cella:y</i>	will go-you	PT 40-21

It is true that in OT texts -a:y- is found to occur in various environments like after past markers, after negative -a:t- negative -al and after various appellative stems. But in PT they are not found and this can be considered as an accidental gap.

14.3.2.3.

after various past markers

<i>pilaitta:y</i>	went wrong-you	PR 43-17
<i>a:nṭa:y</i>	governed-you	KL 108-29
<i>a:ṭina:y</i>	bathed-you	KL 98-13
<i>ceyta:y</i>	did-you	KL 148-9
<i>aṭinta:y</i>	knew-you	PAR VI-62
<i>aṭṭa:y</i>	killed-you	CIL 17-34-4
<i>irunta:y</i>	you were there	MM 14-69

14.3.2.4.

after non-past markers

<i>iruppa:y</i>	you who will stay	KL 111-10
<i>tarukirpa:y</i>	will give-you	KL 144-49
<i>enpa:y</i>	will say-you	PAR 8 62
<i>uraippa:y</i>	will say-you	TK 1200-1
<i>poṭta:y</i>	will go-you	TK 1123-1
<i>aṭivippa:y</i>	will inform-you	CIL 20-29
<i>ka:ppa:y</i>	you who will save	MM 6-137
<i>ka:nṭpa:y</i>	will see-you	MM 6-175

14.3.2.5.

after various negative markers

a. after negative -a:t-

<i>aṭiyaṭa:y</i>	you who do	
	not know	KL 58-16

b. after negative -al-

<i>aṭikalla:y</i>	you who do	
	not know	KL 95-26

14.3.2.6.

after various appellative stems

<i>ku:ntala:y</i>	you who have	
	hair tress	KL 105-57
<i>anna:y</i>	of the same	
	nature-you	PP 6-206

ma:laiya:y you having the
nalla:y good-you
 garland CIL 17-33-4
 MM 21-72

14.3.3.

-i

In PT, there are 7 occurrences where we find -i denoting second person singular. In all the cases it occurs with -t- which can be considered as a non-past marker.

TOL. (708) lists -i (and not -ti) as one of the second person singular markers and -t- which occurs with -i is considered as something else probably as a tense marker. It has to be mentioned that TOL. does not list tense markers at all. Ilam. (TC 218) is of the opinion that -i comes always in the past, while other commentators like Nac. (TC 228 Cen. (TC 223) and Kal (TC 225) say that -i occurring with -t- and -t- and -t- always denotes future tense. Dei. (TC. 21) is silent on this issue.

In PT. in all the 7 occurrences we find only the non-past. It is used in 13 instances in the past. This might have induced Ilam. to conclude that it occurs always in the past, but there are very many occurrences where it occurs in the non-past and accordingly other commentators like Nac concluded that it comes in the non-past. In this connection mention has to be made that in many of the Dravidian languages (Kannada, Telugu, Gondi, Kui, Kuvi, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Kasaba and Krukh) -t- and -tt- are found to occur as non-past markers (P. S. Subrahmanyam 1971: 313). Even in certain dialects of MOT -t- denotes present tense (Kamil Zvelebil: 1971).

In PT -i occurs after

1. non-past marker -t-

though it occurs after

2. past in other texts

14.3.3.1.

after non-past marker -t-

<i>aḷitti</i>	will pity-you	PT 79-3
<i>poḷiti</i>	will give-you	PT 64-18

14.3.3.2.

after past -t-

<i>eṇṭi</i>	said-you	PR 300-1
<i>pulavuti</i>	disliked-you	PR 219-3
<i>uytti</i>	directed-you	KR 63-4
<i>alaṭṭi</i>	afflicted-you	AK 125-13
<i>ceyṭi</i>	did-you	AK 188-8
<i>ke ṭṭi</i>	heard-you	AK 68-4
<i>eṇṭi</i>	said-you	AK 53-16
<i>po:ṭi</i>	resembled-you	IN 58-3

14.3.4.

-o:y

It is true that TOL has not listed -o:y in cutram 708 where he speaks about -i, -ai and -a:y. However there are 3 occurrences in PT and several occurrences in other OT texts with -o:y as the second person singular marker, though majority of them are found to be used in participial nouns. -o:y might have sprung from -a:y (TOL 697).

a: → o: / y

In PT -o:y occurs after

1. past markers
2. appellative stems

though it occurs after

3. negative -a:t-

and 4. various non-past markers
 in other texts.

14.3.4.1.

after past markers

veṇṭo:y won-you (Sg.) PT 63-15

14.3.4.2.

after appellative stems

pukaḷo:y you (Sg.) of fame PT 90-40

po:ro:y you (Sg.) of the war PT 63-12

14.3.4.3.

after negative -a:t-

aṭiya:to:y did not know-you KR 120-4

aruḷa:to:y you who (will) not
(be) gracious IN 480-5

cu:ḷa:to:y did not think-you NR 183-11

14.3.4.4.

after various non-past markers

aṭivo:y you who will know PR 213-12

ukuppo:y you who waste
(Voc.) IN 136-3

viṇavuvō:y you who will ask
(Voc.) IN 390-2

ka:ṇpo:y you who will see NR 251-6

ceyvo:y you who will do CIL 28-132

a:ḷvo:y rule-you (Voc.) MM 5-31

The expletive -*mo:* and -*mati* are also used with the verbal stems. There are two occurrences in PT one with -*mo:* and another with -*mati* and they are treated under 'Imperative'.

14.4.

Second person plural

In OT there are two second person plural markers viz. -*ir* and -*i:r*. -*miṇ*, -*miṇkaḷ*, -*um*, and -*i:m* etc. are found to occur only in the imperative. Of all these -*miṇ* has larger number of occurrences both in EOT and LOT. -*ir* and -*i:r* occur often with -*t-* which is generally considered by many (Nac. 226) as tense marker.

TOL. (709) speaks about only -*ir*, -*i:r* and -*miṇ*. Though -*miṇ* always occurs in the imperative, TOL, does not mention anything about it. Almost all the commentators (Ilam. Col. 219, Cen. Col. 224, Nac. Col. 226) mention that when -*ir* and -*i:r* come in all tenses, -*miṇ* occurs in the future tense only. Nac. (Col. 226) gives an example, *uṇmiṇkaḷe*: 'eat-you (Pl.)' to stress the point that -*miṇkaḷ* is another suffix to denote second person plural.

14.4.1.

-*ir*

Of -*ir* and -*i:r*, the former is found to be more predominant in EOT whereas the latter is found to occur more in LOT. Mention is also to be made that -*i:r* is not found in PT and IN, of EOT and TK of LOT.

	- <i>ir</i>	- <i>i:r</i>
PR	13	8
KR	8	2
PT	2	0
AK	15	3
IN	1	0
NR	7	7
KL	11	40
PAR	1	2
PP	34	8
TK	0	0
CIL	12	12
MM	2	15

In PT -*ir* occurs only after

1. -*aṇ-* which is preceded by various past tense markers
2. appellative stems
though it is found to occur after
3. past tense markers
 - a) past -*iṇ-*
 - b) other past markers

4. various non-past markers

a) non-past marker *-v-*b) non-past marker *-t-* and5. negative markers *-al-* and *-a:l-*

in other texts.

14.4.1.1.

after *-an-*

<i>enranir</i>	said-you	PT 77-2
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Note that there is only one occurrence of *-ir* in this environment in PT.

14.4.1.2.

after appellative stems

<i>vampalir</i>	you who are new	PT 77-2
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Note that there is only one occurrence in PT.

14.4.1.3.

after past tense markers

a. after *-in-*

<i>a:ɸinir</i>	danced-you	PR 109-17
<i>taŋkɸinir</i>	stayed-you	KR 345-3
<i>virumpɸinir</i>	desired-you	AK 179-10
<i>uɸɸinir</i>	thought-you	KL 4-8
<i>acaiɸinir</i>	rested-you	PP 10-290
<i>eyɸinir</i>	reached-you	CIL 11-67
<i>ka:ɸɸinir</i>	showed-you	MM 22-164

b. after other past markers

It is generally found that in the past *-ir* occurs either after empty morph *-an-* or *-in-*. But, there are certain cases where it occurs immediately after other past tense markers like *-t-*, *-t-*, etc. and in this environment it is in free variation with *-t:r-*.

<i>koɸɸir</i>	had-you	PR 203-5
<i>enɸir</i>	said-you	KR 124-3
<i>enɸir</i>	said-you	IN 389-4

<i>arɸtir</i>	knew-you	AK 8-18
<i>ka:ɸɸir</i>	saw-you	AK 76-9
<i>enɸir</i>	said-you	NR 184-4
<i>kaɸɸanir</i>	you who saw	KL 140-1
<i>ve:ɸɸutir</i>	desired-you	CIL 12-1-18

Note that *-t-* denotes past here before *-ir*. There are four such occurrences in AK, *arɸtir* 'knew-you' 8-17, 39-2. 78-14 *po:ɸtir* 'resembled-you' 29-12 and two occurrences in CIL *ve:ɸɸutir* 'desired-you' 11-104; 12-1-18. Generally it denotes only non-past.

Mention has to be made here that in the whole of OT texts there are only a very few occurrences of *-ir* coming directly after the past tense markers.

14.4.1.4.

after various non-past markers

a. after non-past *-v-*

<i>a:kuvir</i>	will become-you	PR 280-9
<i>varuvir</i>	will come-you	KR 268-2
<i>celkuvir</i>	will go-you	AK 200-12
<i>a:kuvir</i>	will become-you	NR 46-4
<i>celkuvir</i>	will go-you	PP 3-145
<i>celkuvir</i>	will go-you	CIL 11-91

b. after non-past *-t-*

It is true that no grammarian has listed *-t-* as a tense marker though it is found to occur in many of the OT texts denoting non past. Altogether there are 21 instances OT and it is gratifying to note that Nac. (TC 226) quotes examples like *kaɸattir* saying *t* denotes present tense.

<i>vinavutir</i>	will ask-you	PR 191-2
<i>ce:rir</i>	will go-you	KR 268-1
<i>ce:rir</i>	will go-you	AK 81-13
<i>akaɸtir</i>	will leave-you	NR 37-7
<i>ninaɸtir</i>	will think-you	NR 318-1
<i>vinavutir</i>	will ask-you	KL 146-12
<i>uca:ɸtir</i>	will enquire-you	KL 143-18
<i>ku:ɸɸutir</i>	will bring-you	PP 2-173

<i>perutir</i>	will get-you	CIL 11-123
<i>a:kutir</i>	will become-you	MM 25-43

14.4.1.5.

after negative *-al-* and *-a:l-*

<i>kaḷaḷalir</i>	do not say-you	AK 130-2
<i>naka:alir</i>	don't laugh-you	KL 142-16

14.4.2.

-i:r

-ir and *-i:r* are found to be in free variation after various past and non-past markers, after *-al-* and after various appellative stems. As mentioned earlier *-i:r* does not occur in PT.

-i:r occurs after

1. various past tense markers
2. various non-past markers
3. various negative markers and
4. various appellative stems.

14.4.2.1.

after various past markers

<i>a:ṇi:r</i>	did-you	KR 178-4
<i>ceyti:r</i>	did-you	KL 142-15
<i>u:ṭiṇi:r</i>	you who quarrelled	CIL 8-V 2-1
<i>purinti:r</i>	had done-you	CIL 16-81
<i>aṛinti:r</i>	knew-you	MM 1-67
<i>urri:r</i>	experienced-you	MM 6-15
<i>a:yiṇi:r</i>	became-you	MM 11-137

14.4.2.2.

after various non-past markers

a. after non-past *-y-* and *-kiṭp-*

<i>varuvi:r</i>	will come-you	AK 387-3
<i>ku:ruvi:r</i>	will say-you	KL 20-12
<i>paṭarkṭi:r</i>	will get along-you	KL 39-38
<i>eṇpi:r</i>	you who will say	KL 143-9
<i>a:kuyi:r</i>	will become-you	PP 10-412
<i>va:ḷvi:r</i>	you who will live	CIL 30-202
<i>aṇi:r</i>	you who know	MM 1-59

b. after non-past *-φ-*

<i>koḷli:r</i>	will have-you	AK 390-9
<i>ka:ṇi:r</i>	see-you	AK 236-16
<i>koḷli:r</i>	will have-you	NR 97-7

14.4.2.3.

after various negative markers

a. after negative *-φ-*

<i>tiri:ri:r</i>	will not change-you	PR 58-21
<i>a:ṇi:r</i>	will not be able-you	PR 195-6
<i>colli:r</i>	will not say-you	NR 213-7
<i>ka:ṇi:r</i>	will not see-you	KL 9-8
<i>viṭi:r</i>	will not indicate-you	PP 8-144
<i>etiri:r</i>	will not receive-you	CIL 25-186
<i>paṭari:r</i>	will not go-you	CIL 11-87

b. after negative *-al-*

<i>tolukalli:r</i>	you who did not	
	worship	PAR XV-34

14.4.2.4.

after appellative stems

<i>iruvi:r</i>	you who are two	PR 45-6
<i>uḷi:r</i>	are-you	KR 118-4
<i>uṭaiyi:r</i>	you who have	NR 184-5
<i>oḷukkatti:r</i>	you who have	
	good conduct	KL 9-5
<i>ma:nti:r</i>	you human beings	PAR XV-29
<i>iyali:r</i>	of the nature-you	PP 8-145
<i>u:ri:r</i>	you who are in	
	the village	CIL 23-162
<i>ma:ṇpi:r</i>	you who have the	
	chest	MM 13-97

14.5.

Masculine Singular

In OT there are three distinct markers, *-a:n*, *-a:n* and *-o:n* denoting masculine singular. It is well known that in Tamil only in the third person

gender distinction is made. In the first and second persons number distinction alone is expressed. In addition to the above markers *-um* is also made use of to denote masculine singular. *-um* can be considered as a non past marker. However it is listed as such for convenience and ready reference. Mention has to be made here that *-um* is used to express not only masculine singular but also feminine singular, neuter singular and neuter plural as well.

Of all the masculine singular markers, *-an* is found to be more common in OT, though in TK *-a:n* is found to be in majority. In CIL and MM *-an* is more predominant than other markers taken all individually.

	<i>-an</i>	<i>others</i>
PR	204	198
KR	79	23
PT	9	12
AK	142	72
IN	108	45
NR	46	21
PP	42	32
PAR	22	29
KL	147	257
TK	57	203
CIL	166	233
MM	155	190

TOL. speaks of *-an* and *-a:n* in Cu. 690 and it mentions about *-o:n* in Cu. 696. It derives *-o:n* from *-a:n*. *-um* is also spoken by it in Cu. 712 in which it says that it can denote masculine singular, feminine singular, neuter singular and neuter plural.

In PT we find *-an* (9), *-a:n* (6) *-o:n* (5) and *-um* (1).

14.5.1.

-an

It occurs after

1. negative *-al-*
2. various appellative stems
though it is found to occur in other texts after
3. the empty morph *-an-*
4. past *-in-*
5. various non-past markers and
6. various participial noun markers

14.5.1.1.

after negative *-al-*

aralyalan will not know-he PT 20-6

14.5.1.2.

after various appellative stems

vallan of the ability-he PT 87-5

14.5.1.3.

after the empty morph *-an-*

<i>añanan</i>	killed-he	PR 78-12
<i>pukkanan</i>	entered-he	KR 269-4
<i>vantanān</i>	came-he	AK 38-6
<i>konñanan</i>	got-he	IN 7-6
<i>ceytanan</i>	did-he	NR 173-7
<i>vantanān</i>	came-he	KL 39-50
<i>nakkanan</i>	smiled-he	PP 8-183
<i>akanñanan</i>	left-he	CIL 9-37
<i>akanñanan</i>	left-he	MM 6-19

14.5.1.4.

after past *-in-*

<i>aruñinan</i>	gave-he	PR 395-28
<i>muyaññinan</i>	embraced-he	KR 294-4
<i>parrinan</i>	caught-he	AK 356-6
<i>eytñinan</i>	reached-he	IN 24-3
<i>cu:ñinan</i>	worn-he	NR 361-2

<i>añcinan</i>	feared-he	KL 65-20
<i>uññinan</i>	understood-he	PP 8-200
<i>e:vinan</i>	commanded-he	CIL 28-233
<i>aruñinan</i>	gave-he	MM 2-69

14.5.1.5.

after various non-past markers

<i>ke:ñkuvan</i>	will hear-he	PR 225-9
<i>mañakkuvan</i>	will prevent-he	PR 290-8
<i>tunikuvañ</i>	will dare-he	KR 230-2
<i>tunikuvañ</i>	will dare-he	AK 380-11
<i>perukuvāñ</i>	will get-he	IN 271-3
<i>perukuvāñ</i>	will get-he	NR 119-10
<i>tu:rkkuvañ</i>	will make dry-he	PP 9-271
<i>irappañ</i>	will beg-he	TK 1067
<i>nalkuvañ</i>	will show grace-he	CIL 11-172
<i>ke:ñkuvan</i>	will hear-he	MM 20-18

Mention has to be made here that *-k-* and *-kk-* are found in certain words like *tu:rkkuvañ* etc. There are very many instances of *-añ* without *-k-* or *-kk-*.

<i>e:ntuvañ</i>	he who will hold	PR 301-16
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14.5.1.6.

after various participial noun markers

<i>ariyunañ</i>	he who knows	PR 136-15
<i>piriyunañ</i>	he who will part	AK 392-19
<i>ka:ñunañ</i>	he who will see	NR 390-7
<i>nañippaṇaṇ</i>	he who will be together	AK 384-12
<i>arivañ</i>	he who will foresee	IN 247-1
<i>pañriṇaṇ</i>	he who caught	KL 79-12
<i>eñuttaṇaṇ</i>	he who took	KL 37-18
<i>orñinañ</i>	he who stamped	CIL 29-18-2
<i>uñruvañ</i>	he who will have	CIL 9-53
<i>ikañntaṇaṇ</i>	he who insulted	MM 5-88
<i>vantaṇaṇ</i>	he who came	PR 217-8
<i>peñravañ</i>	he who got	KL 136-6
<i>a:lpavañ</i>	he who will rule	KL 143-35
<i>iruntaṇaṇ</i>	he who was	PAR IV-48
<i>koñṭavañ</i>	he who had	TK 307

<i>peñravañ</i>	he who obtained	CIL 30-122
<i>piñantaṇaṇ</i>	he who was born	MM 12-99
<i>ka:ña:tavañ</i>	he who will not see	NR 307-9
<i>añunta:tavañ</i>	he who not suffered	KL 146-25
<i>naccappaṇa:tavañ</i>		

he who will not

be liked TK 1004

<i>vatiyunañ</i>	he who stays	PP 5-80
<i>añcumavañ</i>	he who fears	TK 727
<i>a:ñṭakaiyañ</i>	he who was eminent	PR 292-8
<i>cilaṇpañ</i>	he who is in the mountain	KR 362-6

Note that participial nouns like *añcumavañ* are very rare and we find only one occurrence.

14.5.2.

-a:ñ

It also occurs in all OT texts under analysis and it is in a way in complementary distribution with *-añ*, the former occurring after *-ñ-* negative and the latter after *-añ-* preceded by various past tense markers. However, both of them can be found in other environments like after non-past. While *-a:ñ* is found predominantly after *-ñ-* negative, *-añ* is found after other markers. In PAR and KL and in LOT texts *-a:ñ* is found to occur more after various tense markers than after *-ñ-* negative.

	<i>-ñ-</i> negative	Tense
PR	42	2
KR	5	0
PT	2	3 (P)
AK	16	0
IN	8	3
NR	7	0
PP	7	0
PAR	3	12
KL	29	120
TK	35	99
CIL	13	44
MM	14	8

Note that in EOT texts except KL and PAR *-a:n* is found to occur predominantly after *-φ-* negative than after various tense markers. But in LOT texts (except MM) the frequency has changed and this can be considered as one of the chief characteristics of this period.

In PT, *-a:n* is found to occur after

1. negative *-φ-*
 2. participial noun markers
- though it is also found to occur in other texts after
3. negative *-al-*
 4. various past markers
 5. various non-past markers and
 6. various appellative stems

Mention has to be made here that in PT (patikams) *-a:n* is found to occur after past also.

<i>irunta:n</i>	lived-he	PT 2-p; 3-p
<i>koṇṭa:n</i>	had-he	PT-6-p

14.5.2.1. after negative *-φ-*

<i>makiṭa:n</i>	will not be happy-he	PT 61-12
<i>a:na:n</i>	will not contend-he	PT 47-1

14.5.2.2. after participial noun marker

<i>ceruvatta:n</i>	he who was in the war	PT 31-37
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14.5.2.3. after negative *-al-*

<i>ṭi:kala:n</i>	will not give-he	TK 863-1
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14.5.2.4. after various past markers

<i>koṇṭa:n</i>	had-he	PR 399-21
<i>koṇṭa:n</i>	got-he	IN 90-2

<i>peyarnta:n</i>	departed-he	KL 111-21
<i>varuttiṇa:n</i>	afflicted-he	KL 102-27
<i>aṭṭa:n</i>	destroyed-he	PAR XVII-21
<i>keṭṭa:n</i>	spoiled-he	TK 967
<i>e:kiṇa:n</i>	sent-he	TK 3
<i>koṇṭa:n</i>	had-he	CIL 9-78
<i>urra:n</i>	had-he	MM 29-23

14.5.2.5. after various non-past markers

-a:n is found to occur in this environment only in KL, PAR, TK, CIL, and MM. This shows that most of the OT texts do not have *-a:n* in this environment.

<i>viṭuva:n</i>	will give up-he	KL 42-13
<i>amaikuva:n</i>	will remain-he	KL 30-6
<i>uvappa:n</i>	will desire-he	PAR XIX-66
<i>aṇcuva:n</i>	will fear-he	TK 903
<i>kolva:n</i>	will kill-he	CIL 7-18-1
<i>pukalva:n</i>	will say-he	MM 30-248

14.5.2.6. after various appellative stems

<i>anna:n</i>	of the same-nature-he	PR 171-12
<i>u:ra:n</i>	of the village-he	KR 97-3
<i>alla:n</i>	not-he	KL 84-13
<i>akavaiya:n</i>	of the age-he	CIL 1-34
<i>aṇaiya:n</i>	similar-he	MM 16-48

14.5.3. *-o:n*

It has been mentioned earlier that TOL. derives *-o:n* from *-a:n*. But it has to be stated here that in many of the OT texts *-o:n* is found to be more in number than *-a:n*.

	-a:n	-o:n
PR	51	112
KR	7	13
PT	6	5
AK	23	39
IN	13	13
NR	8	9
PAR	19	7
PP	7	22
KL	196	16
TK	200	0
GIL	69	152
MM	31	139

Another important fact about *-o:n* is that it occurs more in participial noun forms than in finite verb forms.

	<i>-o:n</i>	
	<i>Finite verbs</i>	<i>Participial nouns</i>
PR	21	91
KR	3	10
PT	0	5
AK	7	32
IN	2	11
NR	4	5
KL	0	16
PAR	4	3
PP	1	21
TK	0	0
CIL	1	151
MM	0	139

In PT *-o:n* occurs in five instances and it is found after (appellative) participial noun markers.

It occurs after

(appellative) participial noun markers though in other texts it is found to occur after

2. various past markers

3. various appellative stems

14.5.3.1.

after participial noun marker

<i>uyarnto:n</i>	he who was exalted	PT 30-35
<i>paṭarnto:n</i>	he who went	PT 61-10
<i>kaṭatto:n</i>	he who was in the camp	PT 57-3
<i>ya:naiyo:n</i>	he who had elephant	PT 78-14
<i>vallo:n</i>	he who was able	PT 65-14

14.5.3.2.

after various past markers

<i>ceyto:n</i>	did-he	PR 34-15
<i>uyirtto:n</i>	sighed-he	KR 217-5
<i>peyarnto:n</i>	returned-he	AK 32-16
<i>turanto:n</i>	left-he	IN 471-3
<i>vanto:n</i>	came-he	NR 114-6
<i>koṭutto:n</i>	gave-he	PAR V-58
<i>vunto:n</i>	came-he	PP 1-285
<i>irunto:n</i>	remained-he	CIL 16-147

14.5.3.3.

after various appellative stems

<i>neñcatto:n</i>	of the mind-he	PR 377-6
<i>maṭavo:n</i>	of ignorance-he	KR 273-6

14.5.4.

-um

It has already been mentioned that *-um* is also used to denote masculine singular. TOL mentions that the forms like *ceyyum* cannot occur with the first and second persons and also with the epicene

plural of the third person. It is very interesting to note that in all the OT texts *-um* occurs denoting masculine singular. Mention also has to be made here that in PT we find only one occurrence though there are 35 in PR, 3 in KR, 10 in AK, 19 in IN, 4 in NR, 45 (including (u:um(6)) in KL, 3 each in PAR, PP and TK and 12 in CIL and 20 in MM.

-um occurs after

14.5.4 1.

after verb stems

1. *ve:n anum*
..... *ka:kkum*
king will protect PR 191-43
2. *na:ṭaṇ* *amalyum*
he of the land will remain KR 317-4-5
3. *vi:cum*
will give-he PT 60-2
4. *kanaviṇum pirivariyalane:*
..... *aḷikkum*
he who does not know
parting will grace AK 178-20
-22
5. *na:ṭaṇ* *cellum*
he of the land will go IN 214-3-5
6. *kuṇṭa na:ṭaṇ* *collum*
Man of the hill will say IN 267-5-5
7. *kuṇṭa na:ṭaṇ*
.....
.....
..... *varu:um*
he of the 'kuṇṭa na:ṭu'
will come NR 285-8-11
8. *avan* *trakkum*
he will beg KL 63-10
9. *kolpavan* *peṭu:um*
he who sets will get KL 104-21
-22

10. *cuṭum irai*
God will punish PAR VIII-79
11. *ante:viṭukkum avan*
he will leave on that day PP 3-261
12. *cerukkaruppa:n*
...-..... *pukum*
he who leaves his proud will
enter the world which even
Devas cannot enter TK 346-2
13. *ko:valaṇ kuṭṭum*
Kovalan will say CIL 15-95
14. *anṇo:n iraiyaṇ a:kum*
he who is of those qualities
will become God MM 27-95

14.6

Feminine singular

In OT there are three important markers denoting feminine singular and they are *-a!*, *-a:!* and *-o:!*. In addition to these three, *-um* and *-i* are also made use of. *-um* is found in all the texts except PAR. *-u:um* (<*um*) is also used in KL in 4 instances. There is also another instance in which *-a:am* (<*a:yum*) (*orutti* *uca:am*, 'a woman will share her thought') is also found to have been used in KL. *-i* is made use of in all the OT texts except PT, KL, PAR, PP and TK and this is found generally in appellatives like *kuḷali* 'she who has the tress' (CIL 15-198).

Of all these markers, *-a!* seems to be very predominant in EOT and in LOT *-a:!* has taken the place of *-a!* and this trend has continued through out and it has replaced all the other markers in MOT atleast in pure verbal forms.

	<i>-a!</i>	<i>-a:!</i>
PR	33	10
KR	69	7
PT	5	1
AK	155	39

IN	69	5
NR	94	18
KL	85	138
PAR	14	36
PP	5	2
TK	12	37
CIL	88	136
MM	85	38

Mention has to be made here that in KL and also in PAR which are considered to belong to OT texts *-a!* is more frequently used than *-a!*. This kind of deviation can be found in other categories also.

TOL speaks of *-a!* and *-a!* in Cu. 690 and *-o!* in Cu. 696. It also mentions about *-um* in Cu. 712 in which it is said that *-um* does not occur with third person human plural and first and second person subjects and therefore according to TOL it occurs with masculine singular, feminine singular, neuter singular and neuter plural.

In PT all the four markers. viz. *-a!*, *-a!*, *-o!* and *-um* are found to occur.

14.6.1.

-a!

As has already been stated *-a!* is the most predominant marker in EOT. It is found to occur in PT after

1. the empty morph *-an-*
2. past *-in-*
3. various participial noun markers though in other texts it is found to occur after
4. various non-past markers
5. negative *-a!*
6. negative *-il-* preceded by past participle and
7. various appellative stems.

14.6.1.1.

after empty morph *-an-*

uṭanṭana! enraged-she PT 52-16

Like masc. *-an*, *-a!* is also frequently used after the empty morph *-an-* which generally follows various past tense markers. However, there are 5 instances, (3 in NR, 2 in PP and one in KL) where *-an-* is found to be preceded by non-past markers

<i>viṇṇkuyana!</i>	will weep-she	NR 179-6
<i>varuvana!</i>	will come-she	NR 339-6
<i>amarppana!</i>	will fight-she	NR 305-8
<i>orppana!</i>	will hear-she	PP 5-88
<i>ninaivana!</i>	will think-she	PP 7-163

14.6.1.2.

after past *-in-*

iyalina! walked-she PT 51-10

14.6.1.3.

after participial noun markers

<i>olkina!</i>	she who moved	PT 51-10
<i>aṭikuna!</i>	she who will know	PT III-3

(Stray Songs)

14.6.1.4.

after various non-past markers

-a! occurs after *-v-* and *-p-* (*-p-* occurs in only one instance in the whole of OT texts). As has already been mentioned there are a few instances in which *-an-* (empty morph) occurs after *-v-* and *-p-*.

<i>a:kuva!</i>	will become-she	PR 254-11
<i>varukuva!</i>	will come-she	KR 113-8
<i>taṇikuva!</i>	will be pacified-she	AK 22-6
<i>varuntuva!</i>	will suffer-she	IN 81-5
<i>enpa!</i>	will say-she	IN 272-5
<i>perukuva!</i>	will get-she	NR 351-9

<i>varun'tuya!</i>	will suffer-she	KL 31-22
<i>celkuva!</i>	will go-she	PAR XIX-64

14.6.1.5.

after negative -al-

In the whole of OT texts, *-a!* is found to occur in this environment only in five instances.

<i>varaiyala!</i>	will not marry-she	PR 343-12
<i>ariyala!</i>	will not know-she	KR 337-5
<i>pilaiyala!</i>	will not survive-she	AK 5-28
<i>va:lala!</i>	will not live-she	AK 12-14
<i>aliyala!</i>	will not emaciate-she	NR 188-9

14.6.1.6.

after negative -il- preceded by past participle

There are two instances of *-il-* occurring after past participle, denoting past negative, with *-a!*. It is found in KR (132-7) and CIL (19-2)

<i>melintila!</i>	did not suffer-she	KR 182-7
<i>ninrila!</i>	did not stand-she	CIL 19-2

14.6.1.7.

after various appellative stems

<i>alla!</i>	not-she	PR 346-2
<i>alla!</i>	not-she	KR 43-2
<i>lla!</i>	not-she	AK 118-14
<i>ila!</i>	does not have-she	IN 368-5
<i>ku:ntala!</i>	of the tress-she	NR 198-8
<i>uvakaiya!</i>	of happiness-she	PAR VII-18
<i>anna!</i>	similar-she	TK 1124
<i>u!a!</i>	is-she	CIL 18-7
<i>alla!</i>	not-she	MM 2-49

There is only a solitary instance of *alla!* occurring in the stray songs of PT (III-2).

14.6.2.

-a:!

-a:! is also found to occur in all OT texts under analysis and, as has already been stated, it

has become the most predominant marker in LOT. *-a:!* and *-a!* are in a way in complementary distribution, the former occurring immediately after various past tense markers and *-φ-* negative and the latter after *-an-*, an empty morph. But both of them are found to occur in free-variation in other environments like after non-past. While *-a!* is predominantly found after *-an-*, *-a:!* is more frequent with *-φ-* negative.

	<i>-a:!</i>	
	<i>-φ-</i> negative	tenses
PR	10	0
KR	5	2
PT	1	0
AK	38	0
IN	4	1
NR	15	1
KL	18	82
PAR	6	23
PP	2	0
TK	4	15
CIL	19	81
MM	9	11

Note that in EOT texts, except PAR and KL, *-a:!* is found more predominantly after *-φ-* negative than various tense markers. But in LOT especially in TK and CIL, the frequency has changed and *-a:!* occurs more frequently with tenses rather than with *-φ-* negative. This also can be considered as one of the chief characteristics of the LOT period and as has been said earlier this trend continued and finally *-a:!* replaced all the other markers.

-a:! is found to occur in PT only once and it comes after

1. participial noun marker *-φ-*

though it is found in other texts occurring after

2. various past markers

3. various non-past markers

4. $-\phi$ - negative

and 5. various appellative stems.

14.6.2.1.

after participial noun marker $-\phi$ -

olla:! she who will
not agree PT 52-23

This type of forms are found to be common in the whole of OT texts, though it is not found in IN, PAR, PP and TK. $-a:!$ as has been already stated is more frequent with $-\phi$ - negative and this can be found in finite verb form also.

14.6.2.2.

after various past markers

As already stated $-a:!$ occurs predominantly with negative and hence examples for past tense and for non-past are not found in certain OT texts. $-a:!$ with past tense is not attested in PR, KR, PT, AK, NR and PP.

<i>tanta:!</i>	brought-she	IN 241-2
<i>uraitta:!</i>	said-she	KL 39-21
<i>varuntina:!</i>	suffered-she	KL 131-27
<i>tirinta:!</i>	changed-she	PAR XII-52
<i>tanta:!</i>	gave-she	TK 1135
<i>iraiñcina:!</i>	asked-she	TK 1093
<i>aluta:!</i>	cried-she	CIL 18-32
<i>pa:ñina:!</i>	sang-she	CIL 7-52-3
<i>uñarnta:!</i>	knew-she	MM 23-41

Note that even in IN there is only one occurrence.

14.6.2.3.

after various non-past markers

Like past, non-past is also not found with $-a:!$ in various texts, viz. PR, PT, AK, IN, PP, TK, CIL and MM. In NR there is only one instance and in PAR only three. There are thirteen in KL. In KR, PAR, TK, CIL and MM

it is found in the participial noun expressions (See p 148)

<i>celva:!</i>	will go-she	NR 206-9
<i>taruva:!</i>	will give-she	KL 1-7
<i>u:ttuva:!</i>	will feed-she	PAR XXI-26

14.6.2.4.

after $-\phi$ - negative

In almost all OT texts except PT (in PT it is found in participial noun expression) we find $-a:!$ with $-\phi$ - negative. This shows that in OT $-a:!$ frequently occurs with $-\phi$ - negative rather than in other environments.

<i>viñā:!</i>	will not leave-she	PR 358-6
<i>amaiya:!</i>	will not be content-she	KR 366-3
<i>cella:!</i>	will not go-she	AK 385-7
<i>ariya:!</i>	will not know-she	IN 90-3
<i>va:la:!</i>	will not live-she	NR 19-9
<i>u!la:!</i>	will not think-she	NR 209-4
<i>eñña:!</i>	will not think-she	KL 124-19
<i>ariya:!</i>	will not know-she	PAR XI-112
<i>kol!a:!</i>	will not have-she	PP 4-164
<i>ka!aiya:!</i>	will not remove-she	TK 1115-1
<i>po:ka:!</i>	will not go-she	CIL 21-8
<i>ol!ya:!</i>	will not leave-she	MM 20-88
<i>va:ra:!</i>	did not come-she	MM 11-129 20-25

Note that at least in one instance (MM) past negative is expressed.

Though in PT $-\phi$ - negative is not found in the finite verb form, there is an instance of participial noun form.

olla:! she who will not
agree PT 52-23

14.6.2 5.

after various appellative stems

It is found only in PAR, TK, CIL and MM. *-a!* is found to be more predominant in this environment than *-a:!* and *-o:!*.

<i>a:ratta:!</i>	she who has necklace	PAR XX-64
<i>iṭatta:!</i>	of the left side-she	CIL 17-15-3
<i>illa:!</i>	not-she	MM 25-10

-a:! is also found after various environments (past, non-past negative markers *-ḥ-*, *-a:t-* and *-al-*) in participial noun expressions. In EOT texts there are many instances of *-a:!* and *-a!* occurring in participial nouns though *-o:!* is more predominant.

<i>keṭutta:!</i>	she who lost	KL 147-7
<i>te:ṭiṇa:!</i>	she who searched	PAR XX-66
<i>vanta:!</i>	she who came	CIL 18-7
<i>olva:!</i>	she who will argue	KR 43-2
<i>a:ṭuva:!</i>	she who will dance	PAR XXI-20
<i>varuva:!</i>	she who will come	KL 56-6
<i>eḷuva:!</i>	she who will rise	TK 55
<i>aḷuva:!</i>	she who will cry	CIL 19-15
<i>po:tuva:!</i>	she who will come	MM 16-46
<i>i:ṇa:!</i>	she who will not deliver	PR 348-7
<i>uṇṇa:!</i>	she who will not drink	KR 356-7
<i>olla:!</i>	she who will not agree	PT 52-23
<i>uṇṇara:!</i>	she who will not know	AK 373-9
<i>a:ṭra:!</i>	she who is not able	NR 106-6
<i>ma:ṭra:!</i>	she who will not change	KL 90-15
<i>toḷa:!</i>	she who will not worship	TK 55
<i>toḷa:a!</i>	she who will not worship	CIL 23-V-1
<i>traṇka:!</i>	she who will not sympathise	MM 25-103

<i>va:ḷa:ta:!</i>	she who will not live	KL 2-13
<i>uṇṇarkalla:!</i>	she who will not perceive	KL 146-6
<i>illa:ta:!</i>	she who does not have	TK 402
<i>nalla:!</i>	she who is good	AK 195-6
<i>to:ḷa:!</i>	she who has shoulder	NR 26-9
<i>vaṇṇappiṇa:!</i>	she who is beautiful	KL 147-5
<i>aṇaiya:!</i>	she who is similar	CIL 19-30
<i>niṭatta:!</i>	she who has colour	MM 6-145

14.6.3.

-o:!

-o:! is derived from *-a:!* in TOL (Cu. 696) as *-o:ṇ* from *-a:ṇ*. But mention has to be made here that in many of the OT texts *-o:!* is found to be more in number than *-a:!*. However, in LOT *-a:!* has become more predominant than *-o:!* as well as *-a!*. Though *-a:ṇ*, *-a:!*, and *-a:r* are considered as the base forms for *-o:ṇ*, *-o:!* and *-o:r* respectively the process might have been hastened due to analogy of the first person plural form *-o:m*.

In the history of Tamil though *-o:* of *-o:m* has been retained, *-o:* of *-o:ṇ*, *-o:!* and *-o:r* has become out of use in due course. The following table shows clearly the change of frequency of *-a:!* and *-o:!*.

	<i>-a:!</i>	<i>-o:!</i>
PR	10	23
KR	7	20
PT	1	3
AK	39	56
IN	5	56
NR	18	28
KL	138	4
PAR	36	3
PP	2	5
TK	37	0
CIL	136	16
MM	58	34

It has already been said that *-o:!* is more frequent in participial nouns than infinite verb forms.

-o:!
Finite verbs Participial nouns

PR	0	23
KR	2	18
PT	0	3
AK	6	50
IN	14	42
NR	8	20
KL	0	4
PAR	1	2
PP	0	5
TK	0	0
CIL	0	16
MM	2	32

There are only three occurrences of *-o:!* in PT. *-o:!* occurs in PF after

1. participial noun markers
though it is found in other texts after
2. various past markers
3. negative *-a:t*
- and 4. various other appellative stems.

14.6.3.1.

after participial noun markers

peyaro:! she who will shift PT 52-24

14.6.3.2.

after various past markers

In the whole of OT texts there are only fifteen instances, (6 after *-i-*, 9 after others) where we find *-o:!* occurring after various past markers. In PR, PT, KL, PP, TK and CIL we do not find any occurrence of *-o:!* in this environment.

<i>aṇaṇkiyo:!</i>	afflicted-she	KR 119-4
<i>tanto:!</i>	gave-she	AK 62-12
<i>irañciyo:!</i>	bowed-she	AK 86-29

<i>toṭaṇkiyo:!</i>	began-she	IN 42-4
<i>enro:!</i>	said-she	NR 33-11
<i>no:kkiyo:!</i>	looked-she	NR 55-9
<i>uraṇto:!</i>	changed-she	PAR XX-41
<i>uṇarnto:!</i>	knew-she	MM 30-2

Mention has to be made here that only *-i-* alone occurs and nowhere *-iñ-* is attested in this environment.

14.6.3 3.

after negative -a:t-

In the whole of OT texts, there is only one occurrence of *-o:!* occurring after negative *-a:t-* in the case of finite verbs. But there are three occurrences of it in the participial noun expressions.

<i>ku:ṛa:to:!</i>	did not say-she	NR 27-12
<i>kaṭiya:to:!</i>	she who had not prevented	KR 361-6
<i>ve:ṇṭa:to:!</i>	she who will not desire	AK 146-13
<i>uṇṇa:to:!</i>	she who will not eat	AK 207-17

14.6.3.4.

after various appellative stems

-o:! is found to occur in this environment in seventeen instances out of which thirteen are found in IN alone.

<i>u:ro:!</i>	of the village-she	KR 242-4
<i>to:ḷo:!</i>	has shoulder-she	IN 99-4
<i>anno:!</i>	of the same nature-she	NR 185-11
<i>mikko:!</i>	having excess-she	MM 25-179

It is also to be noted that in EOT texts, there are many instances of *-o:!* occurring in participial noun expressions and in this it is more predominant than *-a:!*. But in LOT *-o:!* has begun to decrease in number and *-a:!* has become more predominant than even *-a:!*.

Participial Nouns

	-a:!	-a:!	-o:!
PR	15	2	23
KR	25	4	18
PT	2	1	3
AK	75	20	50
IN	15	0	42
NR	18	3	20
KL	59	75	4
PAR	7	7	2
PP	3	0	5
TK	5	17	0
CIL	29	71	16
MM	30	45	32

There are number of occurrences of participial nouns with -o:!

<i>i:ŋro:!</i>	she-who delivered	PR	230-7
<i>nayanto:!</i>	she whom some one liked	KR	365-6
<i>perro:!</i>	she who got	AK	144-10
<i>aŋaŋkiyo:!</i>	she who has afflicted	AK	372-16
<i>niŋro:!</i>	she who stood	IN	69-4
<i>niŋro:!</i>	she who stood	KR	350-10
<i>ilanto:!</i>	she who lost	KL	100-20
<i>payanto:!</i>	she who gave birth	PAR	III-16
<i>kiŋanto:!</i>	she who lied down	PP	5-88
<i>irunto:!</i>	she who remained	CIL	6-110
<i>uŋarnto:!</i>	she who knew	MM	30-2
<i>iyalvo:!</i>	she who will go	PR	353-4
<i>ulappo:!</i>	she who will suffer	PR	160-26
<i>ayarvo:!</i>	she who will play	KR	396-2
<i>peyarvo:!</i>	she who will return	AK	152-3
<i>civappo:!</i>	she who become angry	AK	60-12
<i>mu:ikuvo:!</i>	she who will plunge	IN	126-3
<i>ulappo:!</i>	she who will suffer	IN	477-2
<i>varuvo:!</i>	she who will come	NR	308-3
<i>panippo:!</i>	she who will tremble	NR	229-8

<i>pulampuvo:!</i>	she who will cry	KL	144-68
<i>viŋuvo:!</i>	she who will fall down	CIL	23-169
<i>koŋuppo:!</i>	she who will give	CIL	12-1-17
<i>enpo:!</i>	she who will be called	CIL	15-118
<i>uruvo:!</i>	she who will be felt	MM	8-39
<i>curappo:!</i>	she who will secrete	MM	11-113
<i>kaŋŋya:to:!</i>	she who had not prevented	KR	361-6
<i>ve:ŋa:to:!</i>	she who will not desire	AK	146-13
<i>unŋa:to:!</i>	she who will not eat	AK	207-17
<i>iŋaiyo:!</i>	she who is young	PR	341-3
<i>ma:yo:!</i>	she who is black in colour	KR	9-1
<i>nallo:!</i>	she who is good	PT	61-4
<i>ariyo:!</i>	she who is rare	AK	162-25
<i>ma:yo:!</i>	she who is black in colour	IN	145-3
<i>nallo:!</i>	she who is good	NR	137-2
<i>koŋiyo:!</i>	she who is of the reepers	PP	10-424
<i>veyyo:!</i>	she who has the desire	CIL	10-96

14.6.4.

-i

It is not found to occur in PT, in addition to the KL, PAR and TK whereas it occurs in the remaining OT texts. As said at the outset, -i is found to occur generally in appellatives.

<i>uŋaiyi</i>	she who will stay	PR	145-10
<i>uŋaiyi</i>	she who will stay	KR	192-2
<i>kuŋaiyi</i>	she who has the knowledge	AK	17-9
<i>kiŋavi</i>	she who speaks	IN	490-1
<i>uruvi</i>	she who has	NR	130-9
<i>aŋavi</i>	she who has the virtue	CIL	13-103
<i>kuŋali</i>	she who has the hair	MM	21-4

14.6.5.

um-

-um is also used to denote feminine singular and it is found in all the OT texts except PAR. There are 7 occurrences in PR, 8 in KR, 1 in PT, 27 in AK, 9 in IN, 5 in NR, 29 in KL, 2 each in PP, TK and CIL and 23 in MM.

-um occurs after

1. Verb stems

14.6.5.1.

after verb stems

1. ta:yum maṇam tīryum
mother will change her mind PR 183-4
2. varume: ce:yilāi
the lady will come KR 293-7
3. uriya!
pa:yal uyyumo:
will she escape from the
sufferings of not sleeping in
the couch? PT 16-14
4. tuñca: kaṇṇa! alamarum
she who did not sleep will
confuse AK 270-11
5. ariyai a:rum
will drink she IN 168-4
6. ninaiyum
makaḷe:
will think she NR 349-10
7. orutti maruḷum
a lady will loose
consciousness KL 145-3-4
8. kaluḷum iyaḷe:
will worry she PP 8-251
9. no:kkum
will see she TK 1114

10. kavunti ku:rum

will say Kavunthi

CIL 14-23

11. cutamatt uraikkum

will say Sutamathi

MM 4-106

14.6.6.

-u:um

-u:um which can be explained as lengthened form of -um is used four times in KL.

ku:ntala:!
..... aḷu:um

she with long tresses will weep KL 145-7-8

ku:ntala:!
..... - naku:umshe with long tresses will laugh KL 145-7-9¹

14.6.7.

-a:am

orutti uca:am

a woman will enquire

KL 145-3-4

14.7.

Epicene Plural

In OT, there are four markers viz. -ar, -a:r, -o:r and -a denoting human plural. In a few instances, -o:r is found to be preceded by -ict₃ which is generally considered an empty morph. However, this is listed separately for convenience. Since -a is always found to be preceded by -p- (or -pp-). TOL has listed it as -pa (Cu. 691).

For human plural, TOL (691) has listed three markers viz. -ar, -a:r and -pa. In Cu. 692 -ma:r is also mentioned as another marker denoting human plural. In the present analysis -ma:r is included with -a:r.

Of all the human plural markers, -ar is found to be more common in OT, though in KL and TK -a:r is found to be in majority and in MM -o:r is more predominant than other markers.

	-ar	-a:r	-o:r	-a	-icino:r	-φ
PR	301	57	236	25	7	-
KR	97	23	74	4	4	-
PT	140	34	47	9	2	-
AK	323	52	155	36	7	1
IN	49	21	46	21	-	-
NR	104	26	70	7	3	-
KL	173	247	31	13	-	-
PAR	100	83	36	3	-	-
PP	142	1	79	1	-	-
TK	73	394	7	29	-	-
CIL	211	106	153	-	-	-
MM	83	52	219	-	-	-

8. participial noun markers

a. -φ-

b. -av-

14.7.1.1.

after empty morph -an-

arintanar knew-they

PT 84-10

14.7.1.2.

after past -in-

no:kkinar looked at-they

PT 89-17

14.7.1.3.

after non past markers

a. after -kuv-

tejikunar will be clear-they

PT 73-13

b. after -v- followed by -an-

olkuvanar will walk-they

PT 78-5

14.7.1.4.

after various appellatives

valattar of victory-they

PT 51-30

14.7.1.5.

after various participial noun markers

a. preceded by -in-

o:mpinar they who protected PT 72-4

b. preceded by -v-

uřunar they who will come PT 43-19

c. preceded by -(u)n-

ka:nunar they who will see PT 19-26

va:lnar they who will live PT 37-10

d. preceded by -m-

uřmar they who will eat PT 24-13

In PT we find -ar (140), -a:r (34), -o:r (47), -a (9) and -icino:r (2).

14.7.1.

-ar

It is found to occur in PT after

1. the empty morph -an-
2. past -in-
3. non-past markers
 - a. -kuv-
 - b. -v- followed -an-
4. various appellatives
5. various participial noun markers
 - a. preceded by -in-
 - b. preceded by -v-
 - c. preceded by -(u)n-
 - d. preceded by -m-
 - e. preceded by appellatives.

though it is found to occur in other OT texts after

6. various other non-past markers
(-v-, -i-, -pp-, p-)
7. negative-markers
 - a. -al-
 - b. -(k)il-

e. preceded by appellatives

<i>aruvaiyar</i>	they who have	
	clothes	PT 34-3

14.7.1.6.

after various other non-past markers

<i>vinavuvay</i>	will ask-they	PR 154-3
<i>a:kiyar</i>	will become-they	KR 40-1
<i>irappar</i>	will go-they	KR 331-5
<i>unpar</i>	will drink-they	NR 355-7

14.7.1.7.

after negative markers

a. after negative -al-

<i>ariyalar</i>	will not know-they	PR 165-5
<i>a:ɽalar</i>	will not do-they	KR 305-4
<i>añcalar</i>	will not fear-they	AK 144-7
<i>piriyalar</i>	will not leave-they	IN 336-2
<i>ceyyalar</i>	will not do-they	NR 133-7

b. after negative -kil-

<i>arikilar</i>	will not know-they	KR 152-1
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14.7.1.8.

after various participial noun markers

a. ϕ

i. preceded by past + an-

<i>konɽanar</i>	they who had	PR 373-30
<i>payinɽanar</i>	they who learnt-	
	throughouly	PAR XVI-12
<i>araɽɽanar</i>	they who beat	MM 13-45

ii. preceded by pp + an

<i>ka:ppanar</i>	they who will	
	protect	PR 337-15
<i>uɽaippanar</i>	they who will break	CIL 10-134

iii. preceded by -kuv-

<i>irakkuvay</i>	they who will beg	PR 73-2
<i>paɽukuvay</i>	they who will agree	CIL 24-17-4
<i>paɽarkuvay</i>	they who will lead	MM 30-73

iv. preceded by v + an-

<i>erivanar</i>	they who will sound	PR 369-3
<i>e:kuvanar</i>	they who will go	AK 354-6
<i>pukuvanar</i>	they who will come	IN 432-3
<i>taruvanar</i>	they who will give	NR 8-6
<i>aɽaivanar</i>	they who will	
	proclaim	KL 104-26
<i>pakarvanar</i>	they who will tell	CIL 3-169

v. preceded by negative -al-

<i>o:valar</i>	they who will not	
	leave	KR 34-1
<i>poruntalar</i>	they who will not	
	unite	AK 266-12
<i>piriyalar</i>	they who will not	
	leave	IN 336-2
<i>ti:ɽalar</i>	they who will not	
	touch	KL 102-10

b. -av-

i. preceded by past + av-

<i>uɽanɽavar</i>	they who were	
	offended	PR 97-2
<i>tiɽavar</i>	they who ate	AK 54-15
<i>ceɽɽavar</i>	they who went	IN 474-4
<i>ni:ttavar</i>	they who left	KL 33-9
<i>eɽuntavar</i>	they who woke up	PAR II-37
<i>kaɽavar</i>	they who saw	CIL 2-V-4
<i>iɽantavar</i>	they who died	MM 16-86

ii. preceded by -(p)p-

<i>kolɽavar</i>	they who will have	PR 5-6
<i>kolɽavar</i>	they who will seize	AK 100-7
<i>iruppavar</i>	they who will	
	remain	AK 389-10

<i>kolpavar</i>	they who will have	NR	292-3
<i>varupavar</i>	they who will come	KL	31-9
<i>pulappavar</i>	they who will		
	dislike	KL	71-22
<i>ka:npavar</i>	they who will		
	witness	PAR	XII-33
<i>añcupavar</i>	they who will fear	TK	464
<i>a:lpavar</i>	they who will rule	MM	23-104

iii preceded by *-kirp-*

<i>pirikirpavar</i>	they who will part	KR	22-2
<i>pirikirpavar</i>	they who will part	NR	391-8

iv preceded by negative *-a:t-*

<i>aru!a:tavar</i>	they who will not		
	grant	KL	128-1
<i>kalla:tavar</i>	they who will not		
	learn	TK	393

14.7.2.

-a:r

-a:r which is also found in all OT texts, is to a certain extent in complementary distribution with *-ar*, the former occurring after *-φ-* negative and the latter after *-an-* preceded by various past markers. However, both of them are found to occur in various other environments like after non-past though *-a:r* is found predominantly after the negative *-φ-*.

	Negatives	Others
PR	48	9
KR	19	4
PT	23	11
AK	47	5
IN	21	0
NR	25	1
KL	32	215
PAR	11	74
PP	1	0
TK	45	349
CIL	27	79
MM	24	28

Note that in OT texts except in KL, PAR and in LOT texts *-a:r* is found to occur more after *-φ-* negative than other environments. As already pointed out this kind of distribution can be seen in other personal terminations like *-e:n*, *-a:n* and *-a:y* etc.

In PT *-a:r* is found to occur after

1. various past markers
2. non past markers *-um-*, *-m-*
3. negative *-φ-*
4. participial noun markers
 - a. preceded by *-v-*
 - b. by *-φ-* negative
 - c. by appellatives

though it occurs in some other texts after

5. various other non-past markers
 - a. non-past marker *-v-*
 - b. non-past marker *-pp-*
 - c. non-past marker *-p-*
 - d. non-past marker *-m-* followed by *-an-*
6. negative *-al-*
7. participial noun marker *-φ-* preceded by
 - a. past *-i-*
 - b. past *-in-*
 - c. other past markers
 - d. non-past *-m(an)-*
 - e. other non-past markers
 - f. negative *-a:t-* and *-al-*

14.7.2.1.

after various past markers

-a:r- is found to occur in this environment only in PR (1), PT (2), AK (2), KL (22), PAR(8) TK (3) and CIL (13) and that too in limited occurrences. In PT it is found only in Patikam. This shows that most of the OT texts do not have *-a:r* in this environment.

<i>pu:nja:r</i>	had-they	PT 8-p
<i>ayina:r</i>	became-they	PT 3-p

14.7.2.2.

after non-past markers

<i>teTuma:r</i>	will drive-they	PT 27-6
<i>ceymma:r</i>	will do-they	PT 54-14

14.7.2.3.

after negative - ϕ -

<i>vapañka:r</i>	will not bow-they	PT 1-3
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14.7.2.4.

after participial noun markers

a. preceded by -v-

<i>koIva:r</i>	they who will protect,	PT 6-9
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b. preceded by - ϕ - negative

<i>onna:r</i>	they who will not agree	PT 20-11
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c. preceded by appellatives

<i>illa:r</i>	they who will not have	PT 9-P
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14.7.2.5.

after various other non-past markers

a. non-past marker -v-

<i>celva:r</i>	will go-they	NR 208-5
<i>ca:ɽɽuva:r</i>	will declare-they	KL 102-32
<i>iɽuva:r</i>	will serve-they	PAR X-106
<i>enappaɽuva:r</i>	will be said-they	TK 989
<i>oruva:r</i>	will not separate - they	CIL 2-V-1

b. non-past marker -pp-

<i>peɽuppa:r</i>	will tolerate-they	KL 105-59
<i>puɽaippa:r</i>	will beat-they	PAR IX-46
<i>avaippa:r</i>	will pound-they	GIL 29-26

c. non-past marker -p-

<i>ka:npa:r</i>	will see-they	KL 63-1
<i>enpa:r</i>	will say-they	PAR X-86
<i>enpa:r</i>	will say-they	MM 14-69
<i>ka:nkirpa:r</i>	will be able to see-they	CIL 16-183

d. non-past marker -m- followed by -an-

<i>enmaña:r</i>	will thus say-they	KR 234-3
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14.7.2.6.

after negative -(k) al-

<i>amaikalla:r</i>	will not content- they	IN 457-3
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14.7.2.7.

participial noun marker -a-

a. preceded by past -i-

<i>ku:ɽiya:r</i>	they who joined	KL 72-15
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b. preceded by -in-

<i>onɽina:r</i>	they who united	KL 18-11
<i>naccina:r</i>	they who liked	PAR XX-85
<i>varunina:r</i>	they who suffered	TK 1131
<i>ku:ɽina:r</i>	they who had united	CIL 4-V-1

c. preceded by other past markers

<i>ceɽɽa:r</i>	they who went	PR 337-4
<i>kaɽa:r</i>	they who saw	KR 75-1
<i>aɽinta:r</i>	they who knew	KL 12-15
<i>uɽa:r</i>	they who ate	PAR XVIII -34
<i>ni:ɽa:r</i>	they who left	TK 325
<i>ceɽa:r</i>	they who did	CIL 7-38-4
<i>izanta:r</i>	they who died	MM 24-104

d. preceded by -m(an)-

<i>uɽma:r</i>	they who will eat	PR 46-3
<i>o:ɽma:r</i>	they who will know	AK 171-9
<i>enmaña:r</i>	they who will say	KL 119-16

e. *preceded by other non-past markers*

<i>a:ʔʔukirpa:r</i>	they who will		
	enervate	KL	108-18
<i>ceykirpa:r</i>	they who will do	TK	515
<i>ulappa:r</i>	they who will suffer	KL	80-12
<i>unpa:r</i>	they who will eat	KL	35-2
<i>olippa:r</i>	they who will hide	PAR	X-64
<i>irappa:r</i>	they who will beg	TK	232
<i>enpa:r</i>	they who will thus		
	say	TK	1036

	<i>-a:r</i>	<i>-o:r</i>
PAR	85	36
PP	1	79
TK	394	7
CIL	106	153
MM	52	219

It is to be mentioned, here that as *-o:ɪ̃* and *-o:ɪ̃*, *-o:r* occurs more in participial noun forms than in finite verbs.

<i>puramka:ppa:r</i>	they who will	
	protect	CIL 17-26
<i>ka:npa:r</i>	they who will see	CIL 1-53
<i>paka:ar</i>	they who will sell	AK 181-22

	<i>participial</i>	
	<i>nouns</i>	<i>others</i>
PR	210	26
KR	74	0
PT	47	0
AK	152	3
IN	46	0
NR	67	3
KL	31	0
PAR	28	8
PP	77	2
TK	5	2
CIL	152	1
MM	219	0

f. preceded by negative -a:t- and -al-

<i>naŋla:ta:r</i>	they who will not associate	PR	125-5
<i>aŋaŋka:ta:r</i>	they who (will) disobey	KL	2-2
<i>ti:rkkala:r</i>	they who will not remove	KL	140-17
<i>kalla:ta:r</i>	they who will not learn	TK	409

14.7.3.

-0:7

TOL. Col. 696 derives *-o:r* from *-a:r* but in many of the OT texts *-o:r* is found to be more in number than *-a:r*

In PT *-or* occurs only in the participial noun.
It occurs after

	<i>-a:r</i>	<i>-o:r</i>
PR	57	236
KR	23	74
PT	34	47
AK	52	155
IN	21	46
NR	26	70
KL	247	31

1. participial noun marker $-\phi-$
though in other texts it is found to occur after
2. various past markers
3. various non-past markers
4. negative $-a:t-$
5. appellative stems
6. participial noun markers

14.7.3.1.

after participial noun marker - ϕ -

a. preceded by past

ce:rnto:r they who reached PT 59-10

b. preceded by past -i-

muraniyo:r they who opposed PT 20-3

c. preceded by -iciŋ-

maɽutticino:r they who destroyed PT 45-22

d. preceded by non-past

irappo:r those who will beg PT 52-11

va:lumo:r they who will live PT 71-27

e. preceded by negative -a:t-

uɽara:to:r they who will not
know PT 51-24

f. preceded by appellatives

ulakatto:r they who are in the
world PT 15-24

14.7.3.2.

after various past markers

peɽto:r	received-they	PR 35-16
ceɽto:r	went-they	AK 325-21
ceɽto:r	went-they	NR 226-7
puɽarnto:r	connected-they	PAR VI-54

14.7.3.3.

after various non-past markers

moɽiyo:r	will say-they	PR 377-21
ilaɽpo:r	will loose-they	PR 203-8
aɽiyo:r	will know-they	NR 281-10
nukaɽvo:r	will drink-they	PAR X-32
celvo:r	will go-they	PP 4-39
paɽuɽo:r	will entangle-they	CIL 5-132

14.7.3.4.

after negative -a:t-

taɽla:to:r	will not prevent -	
	they	PR 18-30

14.7.3.5.

after appellative stems

nummo:r	they of-you	PR 157-3
allo:r	they who are not,	PAR VI-39
moymɽino:r	of the strength-they	PP 9-72
aɽavo:r	they who are wise	TK 30

14.7.3.6.

after participial noun markers

a. preceded by non-past -kiɽ-

There is a solitary occurrence in MM.

a:ɽkiɽto:r	they who are	
	ruling	MM 26-18

b. preceded by -v-

va:lvo:r	they who will live	PR 20-9
arakuɽvo:r	they who will	
	wipe off	KR 398-8
ni:ntuɽo:r	they who will	
	cross over	AK 202-15
koɽvo:r	those who will take	IN 187-4
varuɽo:r	they who will come	NR 342-4
celvo:r	they who will go	KL 6-2
e:ntuɽo:r	they who will bear	PAR XI-50
ceykuɽo:r	they who will do	PAR XIX-40
celvo:r	they who will go	PP 4-39
kaɽiyo:r	they who will	
	pass through	CIL 10-72
va:lvo:r	they who will live	MM 14-86
ka:ɽpo:r	they who will see	PR 356-9
ka:ɽpo:r	they who will see	KR 344-8
ke:ɽpo:r	they who will hear	AK 97-23
uɽpo:r	they who will drink	NR 38-3
niɽpo:r	they who will stand	PAR X-28

<i>enpo:r</i>	they who will say	TK 30
<i>ka:po:r</i>	they who will steal	CIL 5-115
<i>enpo:r</i>	they who will thus say	MM 23-132

c. preceded by *-kirp-*

<i>irukkirpo:r</i>	they who will remain	AK 387-20
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d. preceded by non-past *-φ-*

<i>va:lvo:r</i>	they who will live	NR 153-9
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e. preceded by negative *-φ-*

<i>pa:yo:r</i>	they who will not subside	AK 22-5
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14.7.4.

-a

TOL has listed *-pa* as a separate marker denoting human plural in Cu. 490 and 691. He has not segmented *-pa* into *-p-* and *-a*. It is true that *-p-* and *-a* always stand together to denote human plural and this might have led TOL to consider *-pa* as a marker denoting human plural. For example

<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	PR 1-4
<i>a:kupa</i>	will become-they	KR 17-4
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	PT 58-12
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	AK 27-5
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	IN 41-2
<i>molipa</i>	will say-they	NR 290-9
<i>perupa</i>	will get-they	KL 94-8
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	PAR V-49
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	TK 60
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	MM 30-15

This is also the case in the vast majority of neuter plural marker *-a* preceded by *-r-*. When *-va* and *-pa* are segmented further *-a* has to be taken as a homophonous form denoting both human

plural and neuter plural. However, we feel that there is nothing wrong in segmenting *-pa* further as *-p-* plus *-a*, the former denoting non-past and the later human plural. Of course in the present analysis *-a* is found to be homophonous.

It is to be mentioned here that there are a few cases of *-pa* PR (-3), NR (-1), KL (-4) PAR (-1), TK (-6) which denote neuter plural.

<i>a:kupa</i>	will become-they	PR 7-10
<i>ceypa</i>	they which will be done	PR 239-19
<i>ve:ṇipa</i>	they which will be desired	PR 179-8
<i>pe:nupa</i>	they which will be protected	NR 72-1
<i>ukupa</i>	will fall down-they	KL 48-11
<i>uṇpa</i>	will eat-they	KL 92-31
<i>ka:luipa</i>	trickle water-they	KL 48-15
<i>takaippa</i>	will stop-they	KL 3-22
<i>puṇarppa</i>	will connect-they	PAR XI-1
<i>a:riṇippa</i>	will announce-they	TK 1233
<i>a:rkupa</i>	will do-they	TK 333
<i>enpa</i>	will be said-they	TK 483
<i>peṇpa</i>	will like-they	TK 1257
<i>varupa</i>	will come-they	TK 961
<i>vi:laipa</i>	will like-they	TK 692
<i>enpa</i>	will be said-they	MM 30-134

In OT, in almost all the cases *-a* occurs after non-past *-p-* and in PT a similar situation is found.

In PT *-a* occurs after

1. past *-iṇ-*
2. non-past *-p-*
though in other texts it is found to occur after
3. past *-aṇ-*
4. other past markers
5. non-past *-pp-*

14.7.4.1.

after past -i_n-

<i>a:yiṅa</i>	became-they	PT 13-19
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14.7.4.2.

after non-past -p-

<i>enpa</i>	will say-they	PT 98-12
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14.7.4.3.

after past -a_n-

<i>centana</i>	went-they	AK 251-1
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14.7.4.4.

other past

<i>amaṅṅa</i>	grew-they	PP 10-123
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14.7.4.5.

after non-past -pp-

<i>alippa</i>	will create-they	PAR VI-104
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It is also to be mentioned here that there are one or two instances AK (-3), IN (-1) where -a denotes honorific singular in this environment.

<i>celpa</i>	will go-he	AK 285-1
<i>molipa</i>	will say-he	AK 157-10
<i>ullupa</i>	will think-he	AK 253-21
<i>enpa</i>	will say-he	IN 221-4

14.7.5.

-icino:r

As has been already said -icino:r can be included with -o:r. However, for convenience, it is treated separately. -icin can be taken as an empty morph and -o:r can be taken as a human plural marker.

In all the occurrences that we find in OT texts, it occurs after past tense markers. Another important fact is that in most of the cases it is found only in the participial noun expressions.

However, there are two instances where we find the finite verb constructions.

It is found only in five of the OT texts namely PR (7), KR (4), PT (2), AK (7) and NR (5). In none of the LOT texts we find it.

14.7.5.1.

after past

<i>ma:ynticino:r</i>	they who perished	PR 27-6
<i>a:nticino:r</i>	they who knew	KR 18-3
<i>uṭaricino:r</i>	they who enraged	PT 72-16
<i>akaṅṅicino:r</i>	they who parted	AK 311-14
<i>piricino:r</i>	they who parted	NR 241-12

14.7.5.2.

after appellatives

There is only one occurrence in the whole of OT texts, where we find -icino:r is used after appellatives.

<i>munticino:r</i>	they who are	
	ancestors	PT 69-17

As already said that it also occurs in the finite verb construction.

<i>maṅṅantino:r</i>	forgot-they	NR 118-3
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14.8.

Neuter singular

In OT there are five markers viz. -atu, -tu, -ṭu, -ṭu and -um denoting third person neuter singular. Of these -atu, -tu, -ṭu and -ṭu can be reduced to -tu. However, they are all dealt with separately for convenience and also for ready reference. It is possible to segment -atu further as a- plus -tu. assigning third person to -a- and -tu for neuter singular. But this is not done in the present analysis and they are taken together to denote neuter singular which will tally with -e:n, -eṅ etc. -ru and -ṭu can be explained as variants of -tu.

TOL considers *-tu*, *-ju* and *-ru* as separate neuter singular markers. *-um* is also considered by it as another neuter singular marker in cutram 712 and, as already mentioned, it is used not only in neuter singular but in masculine singular, feminine singular and neuter plural as well. Though TOL has listed *-ju*, it does not find place in any of the OT texts. Probably TOL might have considered *unju* as neuter singular expression and this might have led him to include *-ju* as the neuter singular marker.

Of all these markers *-tu* seems to occur more predominantly than other suffixes.

In PT we find *-atu*, *-tu*, *tu* and *-um*

14.8.1. *-atu*

It is found to occur in PT after

1. past *-nt-*
2. non-past *-v-*
3. participial noun marker *-φ-*

though in other texts it is found to occur after

4. various other past tense markers
5. various other non-past markers
6. various appellatives
7. participial noun marker *-φ-*

also.

14.8.1.1. after past *-nt-*

<i>citaintatu</i>	perished-it	PT 27-1
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14.8.1.2. after non-past *-v-*

<i>poykkuyatu</i>	will fail-it	PT 18-11
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14.8.1.3.

after participial noun marker *-φ-*

<i>i:ttatu</i>	that which	
	someone gave	PT 61-12
<i>puraiyatu</i>	that which will	
	resemble	PT 17-1
<i>kaiyatu</i>	that which was in	
	the hand	PT 57-7

14.8.1.4.

after various other past markers

<i>vaittatu</i>	placed-it	PR 357-5
<i>kappiyatu</i>	thought-it	PR 52-7
<i>enratu</i>	cried-it	KR 157-1
<i>iyaratu</i>	happened-it	AK 379-8
<i>ninratu</i>	stood-it	IN 165-4
<i>iruttatu</i>	stayed-it	NR 156-10
<i>a:natu</i>	became-it	KL 147-3
<i>curriyatu</i>	rounded-it	PAR VII-29
<i>e:ntiyatu</i>	rose-it	PP 1-107
<i>kurittatu</i>	denoted-it	TK 1013
<i>ka:ṭṭiyatu</i>	showed-it	GIL 13-85
<i>celuttiyatu</i>	directed-it	MM 4-70

Note that in all the works *-atu* is not found to occur with *-in-*. However, *-i-* can be taken as the alternant of *-in-*.

14.8.1.5.

after various other non-past markers

It is very interesting to note that *-atu* also occurs with various non-past markers in the finite verb forms which has been replaced by *-um* in MOT as in *varum* 'will come-it'

<i>varuyatu</i>	will come-it	PR 354-7
<i>maraiyatu</i>	will protect-it	PR 35-2
<i>a:yatu</i>	will become-it	KR 276-6
<i>a:vatu</i>	will become-it	AK 239-1
<i>amaiyatu</i>	will remain-it	IN 295-2
<i>va:yppatu</i>	will happen-it	IN 8-6

<i>varuvatu</i>	will come-it	NR 306-9
<i>imaippatu</i>	will wink-it	NR 112-8
<i>varuvatu</i>	will come-it	PP 10-354
<i>ma:yvatu</i>	will destroy-it	TK 996
<i>varuvatu</i>	will come-it	CIL 24-18-6

This kind of forms are used in MOT only as conjugated nouns. But in OT they have been used as finite verbs also. However, this is not found in KL, PAR and MM.

There are six occurrences in OT, 3 in AK and 3 in NR, Where *-atu* is found to occur with *-kinr-*, a present tense marker.

<i>a:kinratu</i>	becomes-it	AK 96-18, 296-14, 368-19
<i>a:kinratu</i>	becomes-it	NR 227-9, 272-10, 354-11

There is also another expression *aliyatu* 'will perish-it', NR 382-6 denoting neuter singular. Note that there is no overt non-past marker in it.

14.8.1.6.

after various appellatives

<i>vaippinatu</i>	of the village-it	PR 321-7
<i>innatu</i>	of this nature-it	KR 109-4
<i>arratu</i>	without-it	AK 119-10
<i>akattatu</i>	in-it	IN 279-4
<i>ariyatu</i>	rare-it	NR 137-3
<i>me:latu</i>	over-it	PAR IV-45
<i>na:niyatu</i>	of nearness-it	PP 3-202
<i>ariyatu</i>	rare-it	TK 747
<i>va:attatu</i>	of the fertility-it	CIL 2-4
<i>va:yvatu</i>	of the chance-it	MM 11-138

14.8.1.7.

after participial noun marker *-phi-*

In neuter singular *-atu* is found to be more predominant than other markers in participial noun

expressions. The following table gives a very clear picture of this phenomenon.

	<i>-atu</i>	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-ru</i>
PR	71	63	11
KR	26	26	2
PT	4	5	2
AK	81	50	17
IN	29	11	1
NR	42	3	9
KL	172	41	8
PAR	18	-	-
PP	4	2	3
TK	104	14	-
CIL	124	2	-
MM	31	0	-

-atu is found to occur in various participial noun expressions like past, non-past, negative etc. There are eleven occurrences of negative expression in OT texts one in KL, four each in TK and MM and two in CIL.

a. Preceded by past

<i>ve:n:fiyatu</i>	that some one desired	PR 38-9
<i>ilantatu</i>	that which was lost	KR 245-2
<i>i:ttatu</i>	that which someone gave	PT 61-12
<i>enratu</i>	that which was said	AK 139-19
<i>tantatu</i>	that which was brought	IN 247-1
<i>a:aintatu</i>	that which someone had	NR 372-9
<i>ku:riyatu</i>	that which someone said	KL 133-11
<i>u:liyatu</i>	that which someone thought	PAR XVIII-9
<i>acatiyatu</i>	lay-it	PP 1-109
<i>ninratu</i>	that which stood	TK 543

our analysis *-atu* is considered as a neuter singular marker separately from *-tu*.

-tu is found to occur in PT after

1. negative *-a*:
2. various appellative stems and
3. participial noun marker *-φ-* in the appellative noun

though it is found in other texts (PR, KR, AK and MM)

4. after negative *-a:-* in the participial noun.

14.8.2.1.

after negative *-a:-*

<i>a:ka:tu</i>	will not become - it	PR	58-23
<i>a:tiya:tu</i>	will not know - it	KR	242-6
<i>talaiya:tu</i>	will not rain-it	PT	20-26
<i>iyaiya:tu</i>	will not be possible		
	-it	AK	335-3
<i>amaikalla:tu</i>	will not content-it	IN	457-4
<i>naliya:tu</i>	will not cause to		
	suffer-it	IN	325-3
<i>o:ya:tu</i>	will not stop-it	NR	154-3
<i>ka:ṭṭa:tu</i>	will not show-it	KL	143-21
<i>va:ra:tu</i>	will not come - it	NR	173-6
<i>tavira:tu</i>	will not renounce		
	-it	PP	10-210
<i>ve:ṇṇa:tu</i>	will not like-it	TK	670
<i>citaiya:tu</i>	will not deterio-		
	rate-it	CIL	15-146
<i>kaṭṭa:tu</i>	will not bind-it	MM	22-71

Note that negative with *-a:-* always denotes only non-past. But mention has to be made here that in NR there is an occurrence in which *va:ra:tu*=did not come-it, (NR 173-6) denotes past.

It may be possible to consider *-a:t-* as a negative marker which we find in various participles like *ka:ṇa:tu* 'without seeing' *vara:tu* 'without

coming' etc. However, here *-a:-* is taken as negative marker and *-tu* neuter singular marker.

14.8.2.2.

after various appellative stems

<i>aḷitu</i>	pity-it	PR	5-8
<i>iṇitu</i>	pleasant-it	KR	60-6
<i>iṇitu</i>	pleasant-it	PT	12-9
<i>iṇitu</i>	pleasant-it	IN	181-5
<i>koṭitu</i>	cruel-it	NR	2-10
<i>uṭaittu</i>	has-it	KL	4-22
<i>takaittu</i>	of the nature-it	PAR	XX-26
<i>uṭaittu</i>	has-it	PP	10-453
<i>ti:maittu</i>	harmful-it	TK	450
<i>peritu</i>	of the plenty-it	CIL	13-10
<i>peyarttu</i>	of the name-it	MM	10-68

14.8.2.3.

after participial noun (appellative) marker *-φ-*

<i>cewitu</i>	that which is perfect	PT	22-8
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14.8.2.4.

after negative *-a:-* in the participial noun

There are 9 occurrences (3 in PR, 1 in KR 4 in AK and 1 in MM) in OT texts of participial noun expression with *-a:-* negation.

<i>olla:tu</i>	that which was		
	not possible	PR	196-2
<i>iṇṇa:tu</i>	that which was		
	not pleasant	KR	195-4
<i>iṇṇa:tu</i>	that which was		
	not pleasant	AK	164-10
<i>vaṇaṇka:tu</i>	that which was		
	not worshipping	MM	10-33

14.8.3.

-tu

As has already been said *-tu* can be considered as alternant of *-tu* and it can be got by morphophonemic rules like

$\underline{n} + tu \rightarrow nru$

$\underline{r} + tu \rightarrow rru$

$\underline{l} + tu \rightarrow lru$

It is always found either after $-\underline{n}$ or after $-\underline{r}$ or $-\underline{l}$. Only for convenience it is dealt with separately.

In PT $-ru$ occurs after

1. $-an-$, an empty morph
2. appellatives ending in $-\underline{l}$, $-\underline{n}$ or $-\underline{r}$
3. participial noun marker $-\phi-$ preceded by $-\underline{in}-$

though it is found in other texts after

4. past $-\underline{in}-$

14.8.3.1.

after $-an-$, an empty morph

$-ru$ is found in this environment in PT and other OT texts. However, in LOT texts it is not found in this particular environment.

alaitanru caused suffering-it PT 16-20

14.8.3.2.

after appellatives ending in $-\underline{l}$, $-\underline{n}$ or $-\underline{r}$

me:varru of desire-it PT 60-1

arru of the nature-it PT 23-12

14.8.3.3.

after participial noun marker $-\phi-$ preceded by $-\underline{in}-$

epinru that which
someone counted PT 77-7

14.8.3.4.

after past $-\underline{in}-$

curuñkinru faded-it PR 397-4

a:kinru became-it KR 15-4

<i>a:kinru</i>	became-it	AK 56-1
<i>a:kinru</i>	became-it	IN 17-4
<i>a:kinru</i>	became-it	NR 25-12
<i>o:pinru</i>	ran-it	KL 102-20
<i>u:kinru</i>	feared-it	KL 103-45
<i>a:kinru</i>	became-it	PAR VIII-10
<i>ayiru</i>	changed-it	PAR VII-35
<i>a:kinru</i>	became-it	GIL 24-11

14.8.4.

$-um$

In Tamil we find expressions like *varum* 'will come-it', *po:kum* 'will go-it', which denote neuter singular and also future. $-um$ can be considered as a future tense marker and a $-\phi$ can be set up as a neuter singular marker. All the $-um$ expressions like the above denote not only neuter singular but masculine singular, feminine singular, neuter plural as well, $-um$ is also found in relative participles like *varum palyan* 'the boy who will come' *po:kum palyan* 'the boy who will go' etc. Tolka:ppiyam considers it as a personal termination. $-um$ is found in PT and other old Tamil texts.

In PT $-um$ occurs after

1. various verb stems

This is also the same case with other OT texts.

14.8.4.1.

after various verb stems

mikum will excel-it PT 38-2

14.9.

Neuter plural

In OT, there are three markers viz. $-a$, $-\phi$ and $-ai$ denoting neuter plural. In addition to these three markers $-um$ is also used. Out of all these, $-a$ is far predominant than other markers. The following table clearly shows this phenomenon.

	-a	-φ	-ai	-um
PR	150	34	7	4
KR	92	14	0	7
PT	32	10	3	3
AK	169	12	9	4
IN	75	8	0	6
NR	80	8	0	3
KL	110	2	44	0
PAR	32	7	18	5
PP	51	0	0	0
TK	133	26	30	3
CIL	77	8	11	8
MM	18	15	5	11

TOL lists -a, -a: and -va as neuter plural markers in Cu. 701 and it also speaks about -um in Cu. 712. Iḷam (TC.222) one of the commentators has given the example *avai unṇum* 'they (neut) will eat' for -um. In TOL, we find -a, -a: and -um denoting neuter plural. Examples like

<i>ciraṇṭaṇa</i>	important-they	949-2
<i>ya:ṭṭa</i>	attached-they	1547-2
<i>uḷa</i>	are-they	33-2
<i>uḷḷaṇa</i>	are found-they	1290-1
<i>a:ka:</i>	will not become-they	49-2
<i>cūḷṭa:</i>	will not denote -they	681-2
<i>ceppum</i>	will say (denote)-they	923-1
<i>viravum</i>	will interchange-they	58-1
<i>varu:um</i>	will come (occur)-it	168-1

can be found in the text. -va is not found to occur in the text. There is an instance *kiḷappa* 'will be said-they (neut.)', 604-2 where we find -ppa denoting neuter plural.

14.9.1.

-a

As already mentioned -a is found to be more predominant than other markers and it constitutes more than 75 percent of the total occurrences.

In PT it occurs after

1. -aṇ, an empty morph which is generally preceded by various past markers
2. past -iṇ-
3. other past
4. various appellatives
5. participial noun marker -φ- and -un-

preceded by past, past -i-, empty morph -aṇ- and non-past marker v, v + aṇ

though it is found to occur in other texts after

6. various non - past markers
7. negative -aḷ- and
8. various participial noun markers in other environments

14.9.1.1.

after empty morph -aṇ-

<i>iraṇṭaṇa</i>	went beyond-they	PT 73-13
<i>mocintaṇa</i>	crowded-they	PT 71-6

Like masculine singular -aṇ, feminine singular -aḷ etc. -a of the neuter plural is in majority of the cases used after the empty morph -aṇ- which generally follows various past tense markers. But there are a few instances where it occurs immediately after certain past tense markers without the intervention of -aṇ- and it is found in PR (1), KR (1), PT (1), AK (2), NR (14) and PAR (1).

<i>paraṇṭa</i>	spreaded-they	PT 84-9
<i>ninṭa</i>	stood-they	PR 299-7
<i>uḷṭṭa</i>	produced-they	KR 66-4

<i>aviṇta</i>	blossomed-they	AK 144-4
<i>iranta</i>	passed over-they	NR 130-11
<i>ṭuvaṇṭa</i>	faded-they	PAR VI-69

This kind of forms can also be seen in the participial nouns.

It is also found that there are a few instances in certain OT texts PR (1), AK (3), NR (2), KL (2), and MM (2) where we find *-v-* before *-an-*

<i>takuvana</i>	will suit-they	PR 157-5
<i>olkuvana</i>	will become	
	reduced-they	AK 353-14
<i>ca:mpuvana</i>	faded-they	AK 160-14
<i>kuṭuvana</i>	will pluck-they	NR 206-3
<i>koḷvāna</i>	they which will	
	have	KL 82-19
<i>paṭivana</i>	will rest-they	PP 7-10
<i>piṭalvāna</i>	will change-they	MM 4-22

14.9.1.2.

after past *-in-*

<i>muṣyina</i>	closed-they	PT 22-14
<i>aṣyina</i>	became-they	PT 13-19

14.9.1.3.

after other past

<i>paranta</i>	spread-they	PT 84-9
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14.9.1.4.

after appellatives

<i>nalla</i>	good-they	PT 19-23
<i>ariya</i>	rare-they	PT 44-4

14.9.1.5.

after participial noun marker *-ḥ-*

a. preceded by past

<i>poṛitta</i>	they which are	
	marked	PT 36-8

b. preceded by *-i-*

<i>oriṭṭiṇa</i>	they who have	
	been removed	PT 21-34

It is to be mentioned here that *-in-* is found to occur in AK, KL and CIL.

c. preceded by *-an-*

<i>maṇṭṭana</i>	they who had been	
	glorious	PT 19-27

d. preceded by *-v-*

<i>veṇṭṭuva</i>	they which will	
	desire	PT 55-13

e. preceded by *v + an*

<i>ilaṇṭṭuvana</i>	those which will	
	shine	PT 78-1

f. participial noun marker *-un-*

<i>taṭṭukkuna</i>	those which will	
	prevent	PT 13-4

14.9.1.6.

after various non-past markers

TOL has listed *-a* and *-va* as separate markers both in Cu. 492 and 712. It is true that in OT texts in the vast majority of the cases of non-past of the neuter plural, *-a* follows *-v-* and in the case of human plural we find *-p-*. This clear cut difference might have led TOL to take *-v-* and *-a-* together (as *-va*) a marker denoting neuter plural and *-pa* human plural. Otherwise *-a* has to be taken as a homophonous form denoting both human and neuter plurals. Commentators like Nac and Dei. tried to justify TOL in their own ways. We feel that there is nothing wrong in segmenting *-va* and *-pa* further and assigning to *-v-* and *-p-* non-past and *-a* in one case neuter plural and in another human plural. Of course in this analysis *-a* has to be treated as homophonous,

but this does not affect in anyway either generality or economy. It is also to be mentioned that there are a few cases (PR (3) AK (1), NR (1), KL (7), PAR (1), PP (2), TK (17) and MM (1) where *-a* preceded by *-p-* is made use of to denote neuter plural.

<i>to:ṇṭuva</i>	will appear-they	PR 4-5
<i>a:kuva</i>	will become-they	KR 104-5
<i>paṭukuva</i>	will slip-they,	AK 11-15
<i>to:ṇṭuva</i>	will appear-they	NR 237-6
<i>a:ṭuva</i>	will dance-they	KL 33-18
<i>po:lva</i>	will resemble-they	PAR XVIII-34
<i>oḷukkuva</i>	will spread-they	MM 20-48

Note that we do not find any occurrence in PT, IN, PP, TK and CIL. But *-v-* is used in participial noun expressions in all the OT texts.

As has already been mentioned *-a* which is preceded by *-p-* denotes epicene plural in majority of the cases. However, there are a few instances where it is used to denote neuter plural (both in finite verb and in Participial noun). The following table gives a clear picture of its use.

		<i>-pa</i>	
	<i>Ep. pl.</i>	<i>Neut. pl.</i>	<i>Hon. Sq.</i>
PR	24	3	0
KR	4	0	0
PT	6	0	0
AK	32	1	3
IN	20	0	1
NR	0	1	0
KL	12	7	0
PAR	3	1	0
PP	0	2	0
TK	7	11	0
CIL	0	0	0
MM	5	1	0

<i>illav:ṭkupa</i>	are not available- they (neut. pl.)	PR 7-10
<i>uraippa</i>	those which will say	AK 25-8
<i>takaippa</i>	will stop-they (neut. pl.)	KL 3-22
<i>punarppa</i>	those which are combined	PAR XI-I
<i>ve:ṇṭupa</i>	they which will be desired	PP 4-444
<i>enpa</i>	they which will be said	TK 392
<i>enpa</i>	will say-they (neut. pl.)	MM 30-134 ¹

-a is also found to occur after *-n-* which can be considered as a non-past marker. This is found both in finite verb and participial noun expressions. Finite verb forms are attested only in AK.

<i>a:rkuna</i>	will eat-they	AK 340-15
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14.9.1.7.

after negative *-al-*

<i>ariyala</i>	will not know-they	PR 390-27
<i>me:vala</i>	will not unite-they	AK 11-14
<i>va:ṭala</i>	will not whither- they	NR 359-7

Note that there are only nine instances (PR (5), AK (3) and NR (1)) in the whole of OT texts. Cen. has given examples like *vanṭila* 'did not come-they' *ceṇṭila* 'did not go-they' etc. which denote past and examples like these are not found in OT texts. Mention has to be made here that *-a:t-* is also found to denote negative in the neuter plural expressions in the case of participial noun and this will be dealt with later.

¹ Also see PR 179-8, 239-19; KL 48-1, 92-31, 48-15, 28-2, 144-8, 146-10; PP 4-444 and TK 333 692, 696, 961 etc.

14.9.1 8.

*after various participial noun markers*a. *preceded by -in-*

<i>no:kkiṇa</i>	they which invoked	CIL 7-1-19
<i>cu:ṭiya</i>	those which someone has own	KR 221-5
<i>iṭampiya</i>	those which will sound	KR 275-8

b. *preceded by -pp-*

<i>punaṛppa</i>	those which will combine	PAR XI-1
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c. *preceded by -al- negative*

<i>vilāṅkala</i>	those which will not thwart	NR 252-6
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d. *preceded by -a:t + aṇ-*

<i>uḷa:tana</i>	they which were not ploughed	PR 109-3
<i>iṇṇa:tana</i>	those which are not pleasant	KR 309-7
<i>paṭa:tana</i>	they which (will) not (be)	CIL 9-7
<i>aṭiya:tana</i>	those which will not know	MM 8-16

14.9.2.

-φ

-φ is always found to occur after negative *-a:-*. It may be possible to set up *-a:-* to denote neuter plural and *-φ* as the negative marker. However, *-φ* is considered as a neuter plural marker.

In PT and other texts it is found to occur after *-a:-*

<i>aṭiya:</i>	will not know-they	PT 79-5
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Generally negatives with *-φ* is made use of to denote non-past. But there are few occurrences (PT (1), NR (2)) in OT texts where it is used in the past also.

<i>maṇṇa:</i>	they which some one did not wash	PT 21-32
<i>uṇara:</i>	did not feel-they	NR 326-9
<i>nilla:</i>	did not stand-they	NR 249-8

-φ is also found in participial nouns

<i>maṇṇa:</i>	those which someone did not wash	PT 21-32
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It is also found in appellatives in other texts.

<i>a:ṭṭa:</i>	limitless-they	PR 57-11
<i>iṇṇa:</i>	not pleasant-they	KR 124-3
<i>iṇṇa:</i>	those which are not pleasant	KR 202-5
<i>iṇṇa:</i>	those which are not pleasant	AK 293-13
<i>valla:</i>	are not strong-they	IN 333-2
<i>iṇṇa:</i>	those which are not pleasant	TK 109
<i>iṇṇa:</i>	they which are not pleasant	MM 6-79

14.9.3.

-ai

-ai is found to occur always in participial noun expressions like *vantavai* 'those which have come' etc. Generally these kinds of expressions can be analysed as *vanta* + *avai* where we find a relative participle + *avai*, a neuter plural pronoun. This may be one of the reasons why TOL has not mentioned anything about *-ai*. As they are considered as a single unit now, *-ai* is treated here as a neuter plural marker.

Though *-ai* is found to occur, in PR, PT, AK, KL, PAR, TK, CIL and MM, it is not found to

occur in KR, IN, NR and PP. This shows that in EOT texts only in PR, PT, AK, KL and PAR alone it is found. In PT the number of occurrences is only three, whereas the number of occurrences in PR, AK, KL, and PAR are 7, 9, 44 and 18 respectively.

In PT *-ai* occurs after

1. participial noun marker *-av-* which is preceded by
 - a. past tense marker
 - b. appellatives

though in other texts it occurs after

2. participial noun marker *-av-* which is preceded by
 - a. various non-past markers
 - b. negative *-a:t-*

14.9.3.1.

after participial noun marker *-av-* which is preceded by

- a. past tense marker

viḷaintavai they which ripened PT 62-14

- b. appellatives

annavai they which were
similar PT 74-23

14.9.3.2.

after participial noun marker *-av-* which is preceded by

- a. various non-past marker

uṭṭupavai those which
someone will wear PR 189-5

pa:ypavai they which will leap KL 106-8

cilaippavai they which will
oppose KL 106-8

irappavai those which
someone will beg PAR V-78
enpavai those which will
be said PAR XX-92
uraippavai they which will
be said TK 232
nikalpavai they which will
be happened TK 582
e:ṭpavai they which will
be appropriate CIL 27-21
uraippavai they which will
be said MM 30-142

- b. negative *-a:t-*

It is to be mentioned here that in the whole of OT texts, negative *-a:t-* is found to occur only in TK in the whole of OT texts.

nilla:tavai those which will
not stand TK 331

14.9.4.

-um

As has already been said *-um* is also made use of to denote neuter plural and it is also found to occur immediately after the verb stem.

14.9.4.1.

after verb stem

taṭukkum will remove-they PT 60-7

Mention has to be made here that in the above examples *paḷam* 'fruits' is used as subjects; though it is in singular, it is interpreted as plural. TOL has mentioned these kinds of nouns in Cu. 656 and it is named as *pa:lpaka: akriṇaip peyar* (the nouns which are not distinct in number).

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- Kalittokai* 1969 Tirunelveli Tennintiya Saiva sitta:nta nu:ṛpatippuk kalakam, Madras.
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<i>kaḷirru</i> களிற்று	male elephant, HC 3-6
<i>kavaṇai</i> கவணை	sling, S 9-p
<i>kaṇru</i> கன்று	calf, CB 5-8
<i>kaṇi</i> கனி	fruit, S 6-p
<i>ka:</i> கா	a measure, HC 6-p
<i>ka:kkum</i> காக்கும்	who will guard, RP 5-13
<i>ka:kkaip pa:ṭiniya:r nacceḷḷaiya:r</i> காக்கைப் பாடினியார் நச்செள்ளையார்	name of a poet, S 6-p
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<i>ka:ɽi</i>	having shown, VP
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<i>ka:nam</i>	a gold coin, CB
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<i>kuɽɽuvance:ral</i>	name of a king,
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<i>kuɽal</i>	parasol, CB
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<i>kuyalal</i>	blue nelumbo, S
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<i>kuɽavi</i>	young child, CB
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<i>kunru</i>	mountain, CB
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<i>ku:ntal</i>	tresses, CB
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<i>ke:ṭṭu</i> கேட்டு	having asked, VP 3-p
<i>ke:ṭvi</i> கேள்வி	hearing, CC 3-9 7-2 HC 9-12
<i>kai</i> கை	hand, S 6-p 9-p 9-p CC 3-p 5-p CB 2-9
<i>koṭi</i> கொடி	flag, CC 5-1
<i>koṭu</i> கொடு	giving, RPB 7-5
<i>koṭukka</i> கொடுக்க	let (me) give, HB 9-p
<i>koṭuku:r</i> கொடுகூர்	name of a village, CB 5-12
<i>koṭutta:n</i> கொடுத்தான்	gave—he, P 2-p 4-p 5-p 7-p
<i>koṭuttu</i> கொடுத்து	having given, VP 2-p

<i>koṭuppa</i> கொடுப்ப	4-p 6-p 7-p 9-p to give, Inf. 8-p
<i>koṭuppittu</i> கொடுப்பித்து	having caused to give, VP 6-4
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<i>koṭṭu</i> கொண்டு	having had, VP 2-10 5-8 having captured, VP 8-6
<i>koṭmin</i> கொண்மின்	receive—you, HB 3-p 8-p
<i>kolli</i> கொல்லி	name of a hill, HC 8-3
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<i>koḷva:r</i> கொள்வார்	they who will protect, CB 6-9
<i>koḷi:.</i> கொளீஇ	having tied, VP 2-9
<i>ko:</i> கோ	king, S 2-p 4-p 5-p 6-1 6-p 7-p 9-p

<i>ko:tpaṭṭa</i> கோட்டட்ட	which some one captured, RP 6-3
<i>ko:ttiram</i> கோத்திரம்	family, CC 7-9
<i>ko:ma:n</i> கோமான்	king, HC 5-2
<i>ko:yil</i> கோயில்	palace, CB 5-2
<i>ko:yila:!</i> கோயிலாள்	she who (was) in the palace, S 8-p
<i>ko:l</i> கோல்	sceptre, CB 2-6 3-2 CC 9-16
<i>ko:l</i> கோள்	the act of talking, CB 5-4
<i>catukku</i> சதுக்கு	junction, CB 9-13
<i>ca:nti</i> சாந்தி	piece, CB 9-15
<i>ca:l</i> சால்	having, RPB 2-6 3-8 3-p 7-p 8-7
<i>ca:nra</i> சான்ற	which had, RP 6-10 7-6
<i>ca:nro:r</i> சான்றோர்	noble men, CB 2-p
<i>citaru</i> சிதறு	giving, RPB 8-p

<i>cil</i> சில்	few, Adj. B 6-p		having fought, VP 4-11	<i>takai</i> தகை	greatness, CB 2-6
<i>cirappu</i> சிறப்பு	superiority, CB 2-6 4-5 CC 8-7	<i>ceyyu!</i> செய்யுள்	poetry, CC 5-p 6-'2	<i>tacumpu</i> தசம்பு	pot, CC 5-p
<i>ciru</i> சிறு	small, Adj. B 5-11 6-p 7-p	<i>ceru</i> செரு	fight, CB 4-8 5-18 5-20 6-7 HC 4-11 7-5	<i>taṭa</i> தட	large, CC 6-p 9-p 9-p
<i>cinai</i> சினை	branches, CC 5-13			<i>taṭintu</i> தடிந்து	having cut, VP 4-9
<i>ci:r</i> சீர்	excellence, CB 3-p	<i>celvakkatum- ko:va:liya:taṇ</i> செல்வக்கடுங் கோவாழி யாதன்	name of a king, CB 7-p S 7-p	<i>taṇṭa:raṇiyattu</i> தண்டாரணி யத்து	name of a mountain, CB 6-3
<i>cuṭar</i> சுடர்	brightness, S 4-p CC P-5	<i>cenru</i> சென்று	having gone, VP 9-3	<i>tatainta</i> ததைந்த	which was scattered, RP 3-p
<i>curukki</i> சுருக்கி	having caused to decrease, VP 6-7	<i>ce:rala:taṇ</i> சேரலாதன்	name of a king, CB 4-1	<i>tantu</i> தந்து	having given, VP 2-11 6-4 6-9 8-9 9-9 9-14
<i>cuvarkkam</i> சுவர்க்கம்	heaven, CB 3-p	<i>ce:rru</i> சேற்று	juice, HC 8-p	<i>tantai</i> தந்தை	father, S 7-2
<i>cu:ḷ</i> சூழ்	surrounding, RPB 7-p	<i>col</i> சொல்	words, CC 2-8	<i>tapu</i> தபு	without, RPB 5-p
<i>cemkuṭṭuvan</i> செங்குட்டுவன்	name of a king, CB 5-p S 5-p	<i>co:lar</i> சோழர்	Cholas, CB 5-18	<i>tampi</i> தம்பி	brother, S 3-1 HC 3-p
<i>cem</i> செம்	reddish, Adj. B 4-10 4-11 6-p 9-p	<i>co:lan</i> சோழன்	Chola, CB 9-6	<i>tamilakam</i> தமிழகம்	the Tamil land, S 2-5
<i>ceytu</i> செய்து	having made, VP 9-3	<i>co:lan</i> சோழன்	name of a queen, S 5-3	<i>talai</i> தலை	head, CC 9-p CB 2-9
		<i>maṇakkilḷi</i> மணக்கிள்ளி			
		<i>takaṇṇu</i> தகடுர்	name of a city, CB 8-p 9-p		

<i>taḷi:</i> தமிழ்	having joined, VP 3-4 having added, VP 4-6
<i>tan</i> தன்	oneself, CB 2-6 3-2 5-p 6-p 7-p
<i>ta:m</i> தாம்	themselves, P 2-p 3-p 4-p 5-p 6-p 7-p 8-p 9-p
<i>ta:r</i> தார்	van of an army, HC 4-p 5-p
<i>ta:ḷ</i> தாள்	legs, CC 2-12 steps, CC 8-p
<i>ta:n</i> தான்	oneself, S 4-p 8-p Cii. 9-p
<i>ta:nai</i> தானை	army, CB 5-21 7-5 9-3 S 6-p CC 8-4

<i>tikaḷ</i> திகழ்	shining, RPB 8-p
<i>timkaḷ</i> திங்கள்	month, S 6-p
<i>tīru</i> திரு	beautiful, Adj. 4-1 8-p
<i>tiruttiya</i> திருத்திய	who had improved, 4-12 RP
<i>tīraḷ</i> திறல்	strength, CC 5-17 8-10 9-13 9-14 9-p
<i>ti:</i> தி	fire, CB 3-3
<i>ti:m</i> தீம்	sweet, Adj. B 6-p 8-p
<i>ti:r</i> தீர்	getting rid of, RPB 8-8
<i>tukaḷ</i> துகள்	blemish, S 8-8
<i>tuñcum</i> துஞ்சும்	which will have, RP 6-p
<i>tuṇamkai</i> துணங்கை	a kind of dance, CB 8-p
<i>tuppu</i> துப்பு	strength, CB 8-8
<i>tumiya</i> துமிய	to be cut, Inf. 5-14
<i>tuyil</i> துயில்	sleep, CB 2-p

<i>tuvara:</i> துவரா	which (will) not dry, RP 9-p
<i>tuvai</i> துவை	mixing, RPB 5-p
<i>tuḷa:y</i> துழாய்	sacred bacil, S 4-p
<i>tuḷamku</i> துளங்கு	suffering, RPB 4-12 swaying, RPB 5-p
<i>tuṟai</i> துறை	parts, CB 7-7
<i>teri</i> தெரி	selecting, RPB 5-8
<i>ten</i> தென்	south, CC 2-p
<i>teyvam</i> தெய்வம்	God, CB 9-10
<i>te:yta</i> தேய்த்த	which destroyed, RP 2-12
<i>te:vi</i> தேவி	wife of a king, S 7-3 8-2
<i>toṭarnta</i> தொடர்ந்த	which had continued, RP 3-p
<i>toṭai</i> தொடை	which (some one) tied, S 5-p
<i>toṇṭi</i> தொண்டி	name of a city, CB 6-4
<i>toḷil</i> தொழில்	deed, CB 9-p
<i>toḷuti</i> தொழுதி	collection, S 9-p

<i>to:y</i> தேய்	touching, RPB 5-1		4-6 CC		having established, VP
<i>to:l</i> தோல்	leather shield, CB 9-p	<i>na:jal</i> நாடல்	6-5 the act of examining, CB 6-10	<i>nirai</i> நிறை	2-6 3-2 completion, S 3-p
<i>to:l</i> தோள்	shoulder, S 8-p	<i>na:tu</i> நாடு	land, CB 7-4 9-p S 4-p HC 7-p	<i>ninru</i> நின்று	having stood, VP 7-p 8-p
<i>nanna:r</i> நண்ணார்	enemies, CB 7-4			<i>ni:tti</i> நீட்டி	having lengthened, VP 3-6
<i>nanni</i> நண்ணி	having reached, VP 5-12	<i>na:l</i> நாள்	day, CB 7-p	<i>ni:r</i> நீர்	water, CB 3-7 S 8-3 you (pl.), S 3-p
<i>nayan</i> நயன்	affection, S 2-8 CB 6-10	<i>na:ipatu</i> நாற்பது	forty, HC 4-p	<i>nu:</i> நுண்	minute, Adj. B 7-2 fine, Adj. B 6-p
<i>nal</i> நல்	good, Adj. B 3-9 5-p	<i>nirai</i> நிறை	row, CB 3-6	<i>nutal</i> நுதல்	forehead, CC 5-p
<i>nalam</i> நலம்	goodness, CB 8-p	<i>niraiyum</i> நிரையம்	hell, HC 2-p	<i>nu:ru</i> நூறு	hundred, Adj. B 4-p 6-p 7-p- 8-p 9-p HC 2-p
<i>navil</i> நவில்	learning, RPB 9-p 9-p showing, RPB 5-5	<i>nilla:</i> நில்லா	which (will) not stop, RP 6-p	<i>nu:ri</i> நூறி	having destroyed, VP 5-11
<i>narum</i> நறும்	sweet smelling, Adj. B 5-14	<i>nilai</i> நிலை	permanency, CC 4-8 5-20 HB 8-5	<i>neñcu</i> நெஞ்சு	mind, CC 6-10
<i>nan</i> நன்	good, Adj. B 2-10	<i>nilal</i> நிழல்	brightness, CB 9-p	<i>ne:tu</i> நெடு	long, Adj. B 9-p
<i>nannan</i> நன்னன்	chieftain Nannan, CB 4-7	<i>niram</i> நிறம்	colour, S 8-p chest, CB 8-p		
<i>nanra:</i> நன்றா	name of a mountain, HB 7-p	<i>niri:</i> நிறிஇ	having installed, VP 9-14		
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<i>ney</i>	ghee, CB
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<i>neytal</i>	white Indian water lily, S
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<i>neri</i>	path, S
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<i>no:kku</i>	look, CC
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<i>no:y</i>	disease, S
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<i>no:n</i>	strength, CC
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<i>pakkattu</i>	side, CB
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<i>paṭaittu</i>	having given, VP
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<i>paṇai</i>	tabour, S
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<i>paṭṭini</i>	woman of chastity, CB
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<i>paṭta:m</i>	tenth, Adj.
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<i>paṭtu</i>	ten, HC
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<i>pati</i>	village, CB
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<i>paraṇṇi</i>	having spread, VP
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<i>panṭar</i>	store house, S
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<i>paricil</i>	gift, S
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<i>paricilar</i>	gift seekers, CB
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<i>paruti</i>	chariot wheels, S
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<i>parai:</i>	having worshipped, VP
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<i>pal</i>	many, Adj. B
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<i>kelukuṭṭuvan</i>	CB
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<i>pala</i>	many, CB
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<i>palaiyan</i>	name of a
பழையன்	chieftain, S
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<i>palaiyan</i>	name of a
<i>ma:raṇ</i>	chieftain, CB
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<i>paṇaval</i>	bees, S
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<i>paṭai</i>	drum, CC
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<i>paṇippa</i>	to tremble, Inf.
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<i>e:</i> ஏ	Cli. I-3 II-8 II-16 III-3 IV-1 IV-10	<i>kaṭukkum</i> கடுக்கும்	will be similar, RP II-6	<i>kiṭamku</i> கிடங்கு	pit, CC II-12
<i>e:ṇi</i> ஏணி	ladder, CC IV-10	<i>kaṭum</i> கடும்	ferocious, Adj. B I-5 II-4	<i>kiṭarntu</i> கிளர்ந்து	rose, HB I-6 II-4
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<i>olla:</i> ஒல்லா	who (were) not friendly, RP II-15	<i>kaṇṇuṇṇu</i> கண்ணுற்று	having been sounded, VP II-8	<i>kuṇṇcaram</i> குஞ்சரம்	elephant, CB II-2
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<i>olippa</i> ஒலிப்ப	to sound, Inf. II-9	<i>kantu</i> கந்து	pillar, CB IV-8	<i>kuraṇ</i> குரன்	sound, CC I-5
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<i>kaṭal</i> கடல்	ocean, CB I-8	<i>kaḷam</i> கலம்	jewel, CB I-1	<i>ko:ṇ</i> கோண்	staff, CB II-5
<i>kaṭa:</i> கடாஅ	must, CC IV-9	<i>kaḷaṇ</i> கலன்	jewel, CB IV-3	<i>ca:l</i> சால்	having, RPB IV-3
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		<i>kaṭamku</i> கறங்கு	sounding, RPB II-10	<i>ci:ṇṇattu</i> சீற்றத்து	anger, CC I-7
		<i>ka:ppu</i> காப்பு	protection, CB II-13	<i>curantu</i> சுரந்து	having given, VP IV-2

<i>cu:tti</i> சூட்டி	having worn, VP II-3
<i>celal</i> செலல்	the act of going, CC II-4 CB IV-1
<i>celavu</i> <u>செலவு</u>	fastness, CC I-9 the act of coming, S II-16
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<i>taku</i> தகு	suitable, RPB III-1
<i>toppiya</i> தப்பிய	NC V-1
<i>taɭarpu</i> தளர்பு	dismay, CB II-14
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<i>ta:nai</i> தானை	army, CB IV-6
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<i>te:ya</i> தேய	to dwindle, Inf. IV-7
<i>te:r</i> தேர்	chariot, S II-7 CB IV-2
<i>toṭi</i> தெட்டி	bangle, CC II-1
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<i>nakai</i> நகை	pleasure, S IV-3
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<i>naṇ</i> நண்	good, Adj. B IV-3
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<i>nilai</i> நிலை	state, S II-14 IV-7
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